

Rev D. F. Johnson
For the Society of N. Y. City
PROCEEDINGS OF A CONVENTION

OF THE FRIENDS OF

AFRICAN COLONIZATION,

HELD IN

WASHINGTON CITY, MAY 4.

1842.

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C O N T E N T S .

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A F R I C A N C O L O N I Z A T I O N ,

HELD IN THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON,

M A Y 4, 1842.

M O S T I M P O R T A N T M E E T I N G .

THIS Convention assembled at half past 7 o'clock in the evening of the 4th of May, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, the use of which had been granted by the House for the occasion. The Hon. Joseph R. Underwood, of Kentucky, was unanimously chosen to preside, and Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Esq., appointed Secretary.

The Rev. William Hawley invoked the divine blessing upon the proceedings. Mr. Gurley, the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, rose and in effect said :—

MR. PRESIDENT :—At the request of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, I venture to submit to this Convention, a few remarks touching the objects which may be deemed worthy of the consideration of this Convention. I regret that this duty has not devolved upon some one abler to do justice to the cause we have assembled to promote. But apologies on this occasion are perhaps worse than impertinent, and I shall at once say, that we are called upon to give our best thoughts and energies to advance a scheme of vast magnitude and deepest interest to our free colored population, to such as may become free, to our national Union, and to Africa; which embraces in its promised beneficence two races of men, and two continents. Sir, the fathers of the Society never imagined that this scheme could be carried into complete effect—I doubt even whether they anticipated the results which have been already attained, without the countenance and co-operation of the General Government and the State Governments. The American Colonization Society, at its origin, presented a memorial to Congress in which they say, “Your memorialists are delegated by a numerous and highly respectable association of their fellow citi-

zens, recently organized at the seat of Government *to solicit Congress to aid with the power, the patronage and the resources of the country, the great and beneficial object of their institution, an object deemed worthy of the earnest attention, and of the strenuous and persevering exertions, as well of every patriot, in whatever condition of life, as of every enlightened, philanthropic, and practical statesman."*

A report favorable to the views of the memorialists was made by a Committee of that body, but no decided action taken upon the subject. Similar memorials for several successive years were addressed by the Society to Congress, and to the very able exertions in the House of Representatives of one of its earliest, most liberal and most distinguished friends, the Hon. C. F. Mercer, is our country and the world indebted for the passage of a law stigmatizing the slave trade with the name and penalty of piracy, and also for the act revoking forever the authority of any State to dispose of re-captured Africans brought within the limits of our country, and empowering the President of the United States to restore such unfortunate persons to Africa, and there provide, while it might be necessary, for their security, comfort and defence. Mr. Monroe, then President, saw at once that in the execution of this law, it might be for the public interest, to co-operate with the American Colonization Society, then about to secure territory on the African coast, and the spot obtained for a Colony, was chosen to be the home of the re-captured Africans. Thus the Colony of Liberia rose into existence under the countenance of the Government, and as an asylum for Africans released from captivity by our law, derived from it some degree of protection and aid. But the earliest and ablest friends of the Society sought and expected still further assistance. I need but refer to the published opinions of General Harper, Mr. Fitzhugh, Mr. Madison, Chief Justice Marshall, and others. I fear the magnitude, the grandeur of the cause, has been of late somewhat let down from the high position it occupied before the eyes of the founders of the Society, but I trust it will be permitted to re-assume, before the mind of this Convention, all its original importance and beneficence.

Much has been accomplished. But it must be acknowledged that the communities of Liberia are encountering many adverse influences, that they want numbers and capital, are exposed to the interference of traders of foreign nations, and that they turn anxiously their eyes towards us for encouragement. And is it to be expected, that these people, who, a few years ago, landed on the barbarous shore of Africa, with little or no property, just escaped from a depressed and embarrassed condition—an unsubdued forest before them, in an untried tropical climate, and exposed to the depredations, and sometimes to the hostilities of wild and faithless men, should have effected all that is necessary in their great enterprise—that they should have spread out all along that coast and far into the interior, the beauties and advantages of our arts, civilization and religion? Sir, they have done every thing which could with reason have been expected of them—their well ordered Government; their schools, churches; their manifest improvement in education, morals, manners; their enthusiasm for liberty; hostility and success against the slave trade, demonstrate that they constitute a well organized state, in its infancy, it is true; but informed by a generous and noble spirit, and that if protected and sustained as they should be, they will infuse new life into the throbbing heart of Africa and work out for her perishing children a mighty

deliverance. It is not my purpose to enter into the subjects which may and will receive the earnest attention of this Convention. There is some danger, that unless this nation can be duly aroused to the importance of guarding the interests of our African settlements, they may feel impelled to look for assistance to other quarters. I will not for a moment believe that this Convention will withhold from the colonists of Liberia their sympathy and support. I am happy to see before me many of the faithful and able friends of this cause, and I rejoice to observe that we are favored by the presence of one (Dr. Hall) who has long resided upon the coast and in the Colonies of Liberia, who is familiar with the whole condition of things there, who has won honorable and imperishable distinction, by the wisdom and energy exhibited in his establishment of the Colony of Cape Palmas, and his administration, as the Governor of its affairs. I trust that this gentleman will not withhold from us the benefit of his experience and his counsels. I see also several eminent senators around me, friends of our enterprise, and whose talent and eloquence will be felt to the remotest regions of the republic; and some of the fathers of the American Colonization Society are present who may well remember the days of its first trials, and and to whom it was indebted for exertions, which will be the more appreciated as they are the more remembered. I will add, only, that a series of resolutions, which I venture very respectfully to submit to the Convention have met the approbation of the Committee of the Colonization Society and of other friends of that Institution, and are offered mainly, with the view, of bringing immediately under the observation of the meeting, such topics as may be deemed worthy of its consideration.

Mr. Gurley then offered the following resolutions:—

“Resolved, That in the opinion of this convention, the American Colonization Society, like our Federal Union, rests upon principles in which all wise, patriotic and benevolent men may agree, and by the support of which, they promote the good of our common country, the best interests of our colored population, the suppression of the African slave trade, and the moral and intellectual renovation of Africa.

“Resolved, That this Society, in the prosecution of its exclusive object, the colonization with their consent of the free people of color, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, being required by the terms of its constitution, to act in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the states as may adopt regulations on the subject, was designed to be a national institution, and may justly look for some measure of countenance and support, from the Federal and other Governments of the country.

“Resolved, That the results contemplated in the execution of their scheme by the fathers of the American Colonization Society, were of unsurpassed grandeur and beneficence, and that the success of their efforts in the establishment, mostly by private means, of the Colony of Liberia, is demonstration that these results can be, and therefore ought to be, by the application of adequate powers and resources, attained.

“Resolved, That the members and friends of the Colonization Society are solemnly pledged before earth and Heaven not to abandon in their weakness, those free persons of color who, confidently, under their auspices, have gone forth, in the face of difficulty and danger, to plant upon the barbarous shore of their mother country liberty and Christianity, but rather to

extend to them assistance and encouragement in their honorable and magnanimous enterprise.

“Resolved, That at this time, when our country is agitated by conflicting opinions on the subject of our colored population; when Africa is deprived annually, by the most cruel commerce of nearly or quite half a million of her inhabitants; when thousands are turning their thoughts and hearts to Liberia as a small and attractive Christian state, looking forth to animate our hopes of the redemption of the most degraded and afflicted portion of the world; when this Colony is exposed to danger, if not threatened with extinction, we are urged by the highest and most affecting considerations that ever roused patriotic and Christian men to action, to adopt a national policy, that shall tend to unite our own citizens, benefit our colored population, overthrow the slave trade, and bless enduringly, two races of men, and two of the largest quarters of the globe.

“Resolved, That this convention are deeply sensible of the favor shown to the Colony of Liberia, by the successive administrations of our government, and that they doubt not, the whole country will sustain the Government in the maintenance of such naval force, and the application of such means on the African coast, as may be necessary to guard our commerce (already becoming of great value) on that coast, fulfil all the humane provisions of the law for the benefit of the recaptured Africans, and effectually suppress the African slave trade.

“Resolved, That it should be deeply impressed upon the public mind, that both as auxiliary and protective to the interests of American commerce on the African coast, and as a means for the extinction of the slave trade, the Colony of Liberia is of incalculable importance, and deserves the vigorous and generous support of this nation.

“Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the Friends of African Colonization throughout the Union to call Conventions in their respective States for the advancement of the cause, and to increase the funds of the Society.

“Resolved, That it be recommended to the Directors of the American Colonization Society, to consider the propriety of appointing a well qualified agent or agents to visit the different States to promote the assembling of such Conventions, and to communicate to them the interesting facts in relation to the condition and prospects of the Society and the Colony.

“Resolved, That the gallant officers of our navy, who have repeatedly, rendered such important services to the cause of African Colonization and the Colonies or settlements of Liberia, are entitled to the warmest thanks of all the friends of our country and humanity.

“Resolved, That since the cause of the American Colonization Society contributes emphatically, and powerfully, to establish and propagate civilization and Christianity in Africa, it should be dear to all the friends of missions, and since to meet numerous applications of interesting companies of free coloured persons and liberated slaves for removal to Liberia, the Society has chartered a large ship and assumed heavy responsibilities, far beyond its means, for the outfit of an expedition, of more than two hundred emigrants, all the friends of the Society be invited to send in their donations to its Treasury, and the clergy of every name to take up collections for it on or about the 4th of July next.”

F. S. Key, Esq., then introduced to the Convention Dr. James Hall, who,

he observed, after a residence of several years in Africa, and having been the Governor of the Colony at Cape Palmas, in its earliest and most trying years, and personally acquainted with the native tribes for a good distance in the interior, as well as extensively along the coast, with the commerce of Africa, and the details of the slave trade, and whose sound judgment and sagacity all who knew him would acknowledge, was prepared to communicate information of the highest value to the friends of the cause.

[Dr. Hall has done us the favor to put in writing the following statement, as comprising the principal facts and opinions offered in reply to various interrogatories propounded by Mr. Key at this time, and by other gentlemen during the progress of the Convention:]

DR. HALL'S STATEMENT.

With regard to the African commerce, Dr. Hall said, that the legitimate commerce on the west coast of Africa was now principally in the hands of the English, and mainly from the following causes, viz: The slave trade previous to the last half century was prosecuted more vigorously by the English under the special patronage of government than by any other nation. Possession was taken of a vast extent of coast and forts and fortifications were erected for the special protection of this traffic by their commercial vessels; consequently at the abolition of this traffic they had far greater facilities for prosecuting a lawful and honorable commerce than other nations. The principal articles too used in this traffic were either produced or manufactured in England or in their India possessions, which gave them, for a time, almost exclusive control over the lawful commerce as they had before maintained over the slave trade. Why they retain this ascendancy is in some degree doubtless attributable to the fact that there is a greater demand for articles of African produce in England than in any other part of the world: that London is the great centre of commerce and that there is more capital in England to be invested in commerce than in any other country. But there is another cause independent of these which has operated strongly to secure to the English merchant a monopoly of this trade. I refer to the fact that their commerce has been fostered and protected to a greater extent than that of any other nation. They have uniformly maintained a force on that coast amply sufficient to render their commerce as secure in Africa as in any section of the civilized world. They in, fact, have had the absolute control of the commercial relations of the whole coast. The vessels of other nations have been often necessitated to seek their protection, and which has, to my knowledge, often been granted. The effects of this protection have not been alone to preserve their vessels from violence from the natives and pirates, and to relieve sufferers by wrecks, sickness and other disasters, but from the system of trade adopted by them, a safe return for money invested in that trade by English vessels has been secured, and that too by a system of protection that has not been extended to the commerce of any other nation to anything like the same extent and to American commerce, not all. In the large marts of trade, as in the great rivers of the Bights of Benin and Biaffra the whole cargo of a vessel is at once put on shore into the hands of the native chiefs and trademen and to the honor of barbarians alone, the owner of any other

vessel but an English one, is dependent for his return cargo. The amount he receives will depend altogether upon the will of the chiefs and traders and generally just so far as they shall deem it for their interest to make payment to secure a continuance of the master's trade or to maintain a fair reputation, so far they will fulfil their contract, and but too often no further.

But the case is far otherwise with the British trader. Every port, bay, river or roadstead has been visited and is often visited by a Government vessel, and with the chief and head-men of every tribe, treaties of commerce, more or less definite, have been made, and the fulfilment of the same is to a greater or less extent enforced. In most instances no force, or even a call for it, is necessary, as the bare fact of its existence is equally efficient with its exercise. It is needless to remark that the American commerce has received no such protection, that but a very small part of the coast has ever been visited by any American vessel of war, and in no instance coming to my knowledge, has any intercourse taken place between them and the native chiefs. No American influence has, to my knowledge, operated to increase, foster or protect the American commerce in Africa, except through the agency of the Colonization Societies, and through them, the colonies of Liberia. The very founding of these colonies embracing within their influence a coast of some three hundred miles has opened to us a commerce which was before wholly monopolized by European trading-vessels and the slave dealers.

Not only do the energetic and intelligent colonists vastly increase the exports of their little territory, concentrate the trade of the surrounding country, carry on open, fair and liberal commerce with vessels of all nations, but the colonies are a refuge and home to the American citizen visiting that coast from what cause soever. They serve as regular ports of entry and clearance where all important mercantile papers, so essential in commercial operations, can be obtained. They serve as hospitals for the sick and invalid seamen who have ascended the baleful rivers on that coast. Again and again have I seen vessels steered into Messurado roads by a native Krooman under the direction of the last surviving officer or seaman of a vessel which has ventured up the Rio Pongas or Nunos, and which, had it not been for these colonies, would inevitably have been dismantled by the natives and left to rot in their muddy creeks.

In cases of partial damage or total wreck, when for want of those Colonies, the crews would fall a sacrifice to the African fever and the rough treatment of the natives; and when the voyage would be materially retarded, or entirely broken up, the Colonies have furnished a home for the unfortunate officers and seamen, and enabled the master to execute such documents as would secure insurance to the owner, or afforded such aid as to fit the vessel for the further prosecution of her voyage. In fact the American Colonies have, more than all other causes, protected and fostered our commerce on the African coast.

With regard to the influence of the Colonies upon the missionary operations, I can answer, that it is equally favorable and still more essential. It is a fact that there has been a vast expenditure of life and money by the missionary societies of Great Britain to establish missions in the various towns far to the windward of Sierra Leone, and every attempt, without exception, has proved a failure. The attempt has not been a solitary one but

renewed from time to time for a period of years, and always with the same unhappy result. We can judge from this what would have been the inevitable consequence of the like attempt by American agents on the coast line now occupied by the Colonies of Liberia, when the natives were far more barbarous, and less inclined to improvement. I am confirmed that they would have been attended with like disasters. The advantages which the mission stations derive from the Colonies are manifold, and must be obvious to every one.

In the first place their protection was absolutely necessary to the existence of the mission, to defend it from petty depredations and violence—as for instance, the recent transactions at Heddington—there all the comforts and necessities of life are alone secured by and through the labors of the Colonists. By these their houses are built and rendered tenantable; their services are always required in all domestic duties, even in health, and in sickness their services and assistance are indispensable. Independent of all this, *the most important, the most useful and most successful preachers and teachers in all the mission stations in Africa are the Colonists themselves, under the superintendence of the white missionaries.* Colored men are the most useful and most efficient laborers in any cause or calling in Africa; with a less amount of intelligence and talent than the white man they can effect more.

In answer to your queries as to the capabilities of the Africo-American for self-government, and the fitness of the territory of Liberia for the establishment of a civilized and self-supporting community: I feel it only necessary to state in general terms what are my *thorough convictions* from an intimate acquaintance with all the Liberia Colonies for the past eleven years, and for facts tending to show the correctness of my impressions I refer you to the details and statistics of the Colonies which have from time to time been transmitted to this country and laid before the American public.

The Liberians have shown a capacity for maintaining a free and independent government, a capacity and disposition for a fair degree of moral and intellectual improvement. The soil of Liberia is one of the most productive in the world, and capable of yielding all the varieties of vegetables and all the staple commodities of the tropics. the climate of Africa is one that will prove as favorable to the American emigrant as does the climate of our Western States to the New Englander. In fine, all that is wanting to favor and perpetuate on the coast of Africa an independent Christian government is an increase of the number of *select* emigrants, an increase for a certain period of the appropriation to each individual on his arrival, and a general protection from the government of this country. But without these advantages carried out to a much greater extent than heretofore, I am equally well convinced that the Colonies at present established on the coast will not be able to maintain themselves against the various adverse influences which are constantly operating against them; they will either be swallowed up in the mass of barbarians by whom they are surrounded or they will claim and receive the patronage and protection of the English government.

The Hon. JAMES T. MOREHEAD, senator from Kentucky, then addressed the Convention:

I am apprehensive, Mr. President, that I venture somewhat rashly to present myself on this occasion before you. My attention has not of late, been directed with

much care to the operations of your Society, and it is probable that what I have to say will be neither interesting nor profitable. Yielding, however, to no one in the high estimate I have formed of the value and importance of the Colonization scheme, and believing that upon its success depends much that concerns the well being of the free colored population of our country, I avail myself willingly of this occasion to express, in the most public manner, my cordial concurrence in the objects you have in view, and my ardent solicitude for their advancement.

At a very early period in the history of our government, the subject of colonizing the free people of color of the United States became one of deep and profound interest. To the state of Virginia, more perhaps than to any other, belongs the merit of having made the greatest efforts in behalf of that peculiar portion of the colored race. On the 31st December, 1800, the House of Delegates of that State passed a resolution, requesting the Governor to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing land without the limits of the Commonwealth, whither free persons of color might be removed, which led to a correspondence between Mr. Monroe and Mr. Jefferson, the result of which was, as we are informed by the latter, that an ineffectual negotiation was instituted by our minister in London, with the Sierra Leone company. A similar effort, with no better success, was made by Mr. Jefferson with the Portuguese government to obtain an establishment within their colonies in South America.

Fifteen years afterwards, on the 21st December, 1816, the General Assembly of Virginia again took the subject in hand, and resolved that the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the States or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as were then free and might desire the same, and for those who might be thereafter emancipated within that commonwealth; and her senators and representatives in Congress were requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President in the attainment of the object.

There cannot be a doubt that this movement on the part of Virginia, exerted a preponderating influence in producing the subsequent organization of the American Colonization Society. But it is due to the memory of a philanthropic citizen of New Jersey, that his instrumentality in the promotion of that object should be distinctly acknowledged. You are aware, sir, that I allude to the Reverend Robert Finley, whose name is so closely interwoven with the early history of your institution. For a series of years, "the state of the *free blacks* in the United States, had very much occupied the mind" of that pious and venerable gentleman; and on the 14th February, 1815, he announced in a letter to a friend in the city of New York, the subsisting plan of colonization on the African coast. Other friends of the cause,—and as we have seen, the illustrious commonwealth of Virginia,—had placed their chief reliance on the powerful agency of the Federal Government. Mr. Finley took a different, and as the result shows, a more practicable view. "Cannot the rich and benevolent," he enquired, "devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle,—devising for them means of getting there, and of protection and support till they are established? Could they be sent to Africa, a three-fold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them. We should send to Africa a population partly civilized and christianized for its benefit. Our blacks themselves would be put in a better condition."

Animated with the hope of accomplishing an object of such vast importance, Mr. Finley visited Washington about the 1st December 1816. He opened the subject to the President of the United States—to the heads of Departments—to several members

of Congress, and to some prominent private citizens, and proposed a meeting of those who were favorably disposed towards the scheme. On the 21st December a meeting accordingly took place, over which Mr. Clay, then the Speaker of the House of Representatives, was called to preside. Addresses were delivered by several distinguished gentlemen,* and resolutions, preceded by an appropriate preamble, were unanimously passed, declaring, First, That an association be formed for the purpose of collecting information, and to assist in the formation and execution, of a plan for the Colonization of the free people of color with their consent, in Africa or elsewhere, as may be thought most advisable by the constituted authorities of the country—Secondly, That Elias B. Caldwell, John Randolph, Richard Rush, Walter Jones, Francis S. Key, Robert Wright, James H. Blake, and John Peter, be a Committee to present a respectful memorial to Congress, requesting them to adopt such measures as may be thought advisable for procuring a territory in Africa or elsewhere, suitable for the Colonization of the free people of color.

After the appointment of a Committee to prepare a constitution for the government of the Society, the meeting adjourned to the 28th December following.

On that day, the minutes of their proceedings inform us, "an adjourned meeting of

* Mr. Clay, (on taking the chair,) stated the object of the meeting to be, to consider of the propriety and practicability of colonizing the free people of color of the United States, and of forming an association in relation to that object.

"In regard to the various schemes of Colonization, which had been suggested, he expressed a decided preference to some part of the coast of Africa. There ample provisions might be made for the colony itself, and it might be rendered instrumental to the introduction, into that extensive quarter of the globe, of the arts, civilization and christianity. There was a peculiar, a moral fitness in restoring them to the land of their fathers."

"It was proper and necessary, he said, distinctly to state, that he understood it constituted no part of the object of the meeting to touch or agitate in the slightest degree, a delicate question connected with another portion of the colored population of our country. It was not proposed to deliberate on or consider at all, any question of emancipation, or that was connected with the abolition of slavery. It was upon that condition alone, he was sure, that many gentlemen from the South and West, whom he saw present, had attended, or could be expected to co-operate."

Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, (of the District of Columbia,) then rose, and enforced in some very eloquent observations, first, the expediency, and secondly, the practicability of the proposed plan of Colonization. He was followed by

Mr. John Randolph, (of Roanoke) who said, "that it had been properly observed by the Chairman, that there was nothing in the proposition (referring to the resolution adopted by the meeting,) submitted to consideration, which in the smallest degree touched another very important and delicate question, which ought to be left as much as possible out of view." "It was a notorious fact, he added, that the existence of a mixed and intermediate population of free negroes was viewed by every slave holder as one of the greatest sources of the insecurity, and also unprofitableness, of slave property." "In a worldly point of view, then, without entering into the general question, and apart from those higher and nobler motives which had been presented to the meeting, the owners of slaves were interested in providing a retreat for this part of our population. There was no fear that this proposition would alarm them—they had been accustomed to think seriously of the subject." "If a place could be provided for their reception and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands of citizens, who would by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession."

Mr. Robert Wright, (of Maryland) said, "that he could not withhold his approbation of a measure, that had for its object the melioration of the lot of any portion of the human race, particularly of the free people of color, whose distressed state robs them of the happiness of self-government, so dear to the American people. And, said he, as I discover the most delicate regard to the rights of property, I shall with great pleasure lend my aid to restore this unfortunate people to the enjoyment of their liberty."

the citizens of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria, and many others, was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, for the purpose of receiving and considering from the Committees appointed to that duty, a constitution of the Society for meliorating the condition of the free people of color in the United States, by providing a colonial retreat on this or the continent of Africa; and a memorial to Congress requesting the sanction and co-operation of the General Government in the object of the institution aforesaid. A constitution was reported, and having been discussed and amended, was unanimously accepted.

On the 1st January, 1817, the first election of officers under the Constitution, took place, when the Hon. Bushrod Washington, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, was unanimously chosen President, and William H. Crawford of Georgia, Henry Clay of Kentucky, William Phillips of Massachusetts, Henry Rutgers of New York, John E. Howard, Samuel Smith, and John C. Herbert of Maryland, John Taylor of Caroline, Virginia, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Robert Ralston and Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, John Mason of the District of Columbia, and Robert Finley of New Jersey, were appointed Vice Presidents.

Such, sir, was the origin of the American Society for colonizing the free people of color in the United States. Before tracing its progress to the period of the establishment of the Colony of Liberia, I trust I may be excused for calling your attention to some material and important circumstances, connected with the proceedings of these original friends and advocates of the cause.

The second article of the Constitution declared that the object to which the attention of the Society was exclusively to be directed was, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.

It will not have escaped your observation, that at the meeting of the 21st December, a Committee was appointed by unanimous consent, to prepare a memorial to Congress requesting them to adopt such measures as might be thought most advisable for procuring a territory in Africa or elsewhere, suitable to the purpose of the association.

On the 28th December that Committee was instructed to report to the annual meeting in January next, when the President and Board of Managers were required to prepare and present the memorial. On the 14th January, 1817, it was presented to the House of Representatives.

The memorialists stated, that "they were delegated by a numerous and highly respectable association of their fellow citizens, recently organized at the seat of Government, to solicit Congress to aid with the power, the patronage and the resources of the country, the great and beneficial object of their institution;" and they concluded their memorial by praying Congress, "that the subject might be recommended to their serious consideration; and that as an *humble auxiliary* in the great work, the association represented by them, might be permitted to aspire to the hope of contributing its labors and its resources."

From the whole tenor of these proceedings it is abundantly manifest, that no question was raised—that no doubt was then entertained, as to the constitutional power of Congress to interpose for the establishment, the support and the protection of the proposed Colony.

The memorial, having been read and ordered to be printed, was referred to the Committee on the slave trade, which was composed of members from different States.

On the 11th February, the Committee reported a joint resolution, approving the views of the memorialists, and asserting the power of Congress over the whole subject. The President of the United States was authorized to enter into a Convention with the Gov-

ernment of Great Britain for receiving into the colony of Sierra Leone, such of the free people of color of the United States as might consent to be carried thither; and in the event that such an arrangement should be impracticable, to obtain from Great Britain and other maritime powers, a stipulation guaranteeing a permanent neutrality for any colony of free people of color that might, at the expense and under the auspices of the United States, be established on the African coast. They resolved also, that adequate provisions should thereafter be made to defray any necessary expenses that might be incurred in carrying the preceding resolution into effect.

The lateness of the period at which the report was made, prevented any definite action by the House. Congress adjourned on the 4th of the ensuing March.

At the next session the memorial of the Society was again referred to a select committee of the House of Representatives; and on the 18th of April, 1818, another report was made, which proposed the adoption of a resolution, declaring "That the President of the United States be requested to take such measures as he might deem proper, to ascertain whether a suitable territory can be procured on the coast of Africa, for colonizing such of the free people of color as might be willing to avail themselves of such an asylum, and to enter into such a negotiation with the native tribes of Africa, or with one or more of the governments of Europe as might be necessary to obtain such territory, and to secure to the contemplated colony every advantage, which he might deem essential to its future independence and prosperity."

I do not find that this resolution of the Committee was ever disposed of by the House; nor is it material to any purpose I have in view in referring to it. My object is to awaken attention to opinions, that prevailed contemporaneously with the organization of the Society, on the question of the authority of Congress to aid in the transportation of our free colored population. It would not be difficult, if it were important, to show, that the Government of the United States did, at a subsequent period, by co-operating with the Society in the restoration of a party of re-captured Africans to the shores of their native land, materially and without disguise, subserve the interests of the Colony.

Pending the movements which were thus making in the national legislature, the Society itself was not inactive. Agents were dispatched, at its own expense, to survey the coast of Africa, and to select a place for the reception of emigrants. Notwithstanding the lamented death of one of the agents, the mission was eminently satisfactory. No doubt was left of the practicability of procuring a suitable territory, on terms more advantageous than had been anticipated. The Society proceeded, by the employment of its own resources, to make arrangements for the consummation of its designs, and in the early part of the year 1820, the first emigrants to Liberia embarked at New York.

Twenty years have elapsed, Mr. President, since the Colony of Liberia was planted. It has outlived the embarrassments and perils of a first establishment, and its present flourishing condition furnishes conclusive and gratifying proof of the stability of its institutions and the wisdom and benevolence of its founders. For want of more recent information of sufficient exactness to be implicitly relied on, I avail myself of a publication made in 1838, by one whose character gives assurance of the authenticity of the statements contained in it—I mean the late Governor Buchanan, whose untimely death may well be regarded as a national calamity.

The territory of Liberia extends three hundred miles along the coast of Africa, and from ten to forty miles into the interior.

It contains four separate colonies: MONROVIA, which was established by the American Colonization Society, and includes the villages of *Monrovia*, *New Georgia*, *Caldwell*, *Millsburg* and *Marshall*.

BASSA COVE—Established under the auspices of the united Colonization Societies of New York and Pennsylvania. The towns of *Bassa Cove* and *Edina* are in this Colony.

GREENVILLE—Established by the Mississippi and Louisiana Colonization Societies at *Sinou*; and

MARYLAND—Established by the Colonization Society of Maryland at Cape Palmas. These colonies contained in 1858 a population of about five thousand, all colored persons, of which three thousand five hundred were emigrants from the United States, and the remainder native Africans, who attached themselves voluntarily to the colonies, and became subject to their laws.

The commerce of the several colonies is already respectable. The exports were estimated, during the year before mentioned, to between 80 and 125,000 dollars, in camwood, ivory, palm oil, and hides; and the imports to an equal or greater amount.

The schools are abundant and facilities of education accessible to all.

At Bassa Cove and Monrovia are public libraries—the former of which contains twelve or fifteen hundred volumes.

The militia is well organized, and has proved itself adequate to the defence of the colonies from the incursions of the adjacent native tribes.

Two newspapers are now published at Monrovia, the editor of one of which is a colored man of more than ordinary intelligence.

The Government of Liberia is essentially republican. The Governor is appointed by the Society. His powers are defined by the constitution and laws. The Vice Governor, Secretary, Register, Treasurer, Legislative Councillors, Sheriffs and Constables are chosen by the people. The elections are held annually in every village, and are conducted with great propriety and decorum.

The Judiciary consists of the Governor and a competent number of justices of the peace, appointed by him. Their jurisdiction extends to cases affecting the peace, and to all actions of debt not exceeding twenty dollars.

In the courts of monthly sessions, whether acting as courts of law or chancery, the Governor or Vice Governor presides, and the justices are his associates. They have appellate jurisdiction in all cases whatever.

In this manner justice is impartially administered. The rights of life, liberty, and property are secure under the laws, and the colonists are satisfied with their administration.

It may be added that the affairs of the Colony of Maryland are governed by a separate constitution, and a code of laws framed by the Colonization Society of Maryland.

I hope I have not fatigued you with these details.

And now, sir, I have to ask, what does all this signify, and to what does it tend?

Who does not look back upon the origin and progress of these infant colonies with profound astonishment that so much has been accomplished; and forward to their future destiny with intense interest and solicitude? Who will gainsay, with such an array of facts before him, that it may be reserved for the slave holders of the United States to become glorious instruments for the restoration of a people buried in ignorance and barbarism—for the illumination of a continent shrouded in the darkness of accumulated centuries? Who knows that future generations of ransomed Africa may not point to the slave trodden soil of the new world of the West, as the soil from which sprung the germ of their long lost civilization and happiness? Who can tell that in the course of human events—in the wonderful dispensations of that Being whose ways are past find-

ing out—the history of Hrs chosen people—the wretchedness of their captivity, and the glory of their deliverance, may not pre-figure the captivity, the deliverance, the elevation of another race of bondmen from a condition no less abject, to a pre-eminence in civilization and religion no less distinguished?

The first persuasive indication that such anticipations are not wholly visionary, consists in the fact, that the first *efficient* measure for the abolition of the slave trade was the act of an American Congress, originating from the policy, sustained by the eloquence, passed by the co-operation of American slave holders.

Sir, enlightened public opinion both in Europe and America has concurred in the truth of the proposition, that the African slave trade is the infamous cause of African degradation. I shall not stop to discuss that proposition now: nor shall I do more than refer to the distinguished efforts of Wilberforce and Pitt and Fox and Sheridan and their associates in the British House of Commons, to extirpate a traffic so sanguinary and cruel, so perfidious and mercenary, as to shock every sentiment of humanity, and outrage every principle of justice and honor, recognized among men. Acknowledging, however, as I do, the tribute which in common with the civilized world, I owe to those illustrious men, I cannot repress the feelings of patriotic exultation when I look to the position which my own country occupies. While session after session of the British Parliament, for more than a quarter of a century, the eloquence of these champions of humanity and of truth were met and repelled by the argument, that the abolition of the slave trade would result in “great and serious mischief to the British West India plantations”—“to the ruin of individuals” and “to the diminution of the supplies of the kingdom,”—the Congress of the United States, not only availed itself of the first moments of the existence of its constitutional power over the subject, but in its eagerness to assert it, anticipated its power, to denounce and punish the horrid trade. It is known that the period assigned by the federal constitution for the exercise of that power was the year 1808. In his annual message of the 2d December, 1806, Mr. Jefferson “congratulated Congress on the approach of the period at which they might interpose their authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all farther participation, in those violations of human rights which had so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation and the best interests of our country had long been eager to proscribe. Although,” he added, “no law that you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which cannot be completed before that day.” During that session, that is to say, on the 2d March, 1807, a law was passed which prohibited the importation of slaves after the 1st January, 1808,—subjected vessels fitted out or sailing for the purpose of transporting them to any part or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, to seizure and condemnation in any of the circuit or district courts for the districts, where the vessels might be found seized—imposed a forfeiture of twenty thousand dollars on persons fitting out vessels to be employed in the slave trade, and of the vessels in which negroes had been transported—punished by imprisonment from five to ten years as well as by fine, the act of taking on ship-board negroes or mulattoes from the coast or kingdoms of Africa, and transporting and selling them as slaves—and authorized the President to employ armed vessels to cruise on any part of the coast, and to instruct their commanders to seize and bring in vessels, found on the high seas contrary the provisions of the law.*

* “We ought not,” says Mr. Walsh, (Appeal, 323,) “to overlook the circumstance, that these measures were taken by a Legislature composed in considerable part, of the Representatives of the slave-holding State.”

On the 3d March, 1819, another act was passed, giving the President power to employ the armed vessels of the United States, to cruise on the American coast or coast of Africa to enforce the acts of Congress prohibiting the slave trade, and requiring vessels engaged in the traffic of slaves to be seized and brought into port. The President was further authorized, to make regulations for the safe keeping, support, and removal out of the United States of the negroes that might be brought within their jurisdiction, and to appoint agents on the coast of Africa to receive them.

This act was preceded by a resolution, offered on the 1st March, 1819, by a member from the State of Virginia, and adopted without a division by the House of Representatives, which declared that "every person who should import into the United States, or knowingly aid or abet the importation of any African negro or other person for a slave, or should purchase any such slave, knowing him or her to be thus imported, should, on conviction thereof, be punished with death."

At the ensuing session of Congress the intention of that resolution was carried into effect, by the passage of an act declaring the slave trade to be piracy, and punishable with death.

These, I repeat, were the most effectual and decisive movements ever made among nations, for the suppression of the trade; and I take great pleasure in adding that the law of 1820 was recommended by a Committee of the House in a report founded on the memorial of the American Colonization Society.*

While Congress was deliberating on the last of these important measures, another event occurred to which, for a few moments, I solicit your attention.

In the month of February, 1820, a small vessel left the harbor of New York on a voy-

* The life of Wilberforce, written by his sons, contains a "Tabular view of the abolition of the slave trade." The following extracts from it may not be without interest.

"1787: Wilberforce avows his design of moving abolition—Abolition committee formed. 1788: Middle passage Bill. 1789-90: Examination of evidence and motion in Parliament. 1791: Sierra Leone company formed. 1792: Dundas's resolutions—Abolition carried in the House of Commons. 1793: House of Commons *refuses* to confirm its vote of the preceding year—Foreign slave trade bill rejected. 1794: Foreign slave trade bill passes the Commons, but is lost in the Lords. 1795: Motion for abolition rejected in the Commons by an increased majority. 1796: Motion for abolition introduced, but *lost* on its third reading. 1797: The new Parliament adopts Mr. Ellis's plan of leaving the question to the colonists—Motion for abolition *again lost*. 1798: Annual motion for abolition *again defeated*. 1799: Annual motion for abolition *again lost*. Slave trade limitation bill carried in the Commons. 1800-1: Motion for abolition deferred, in expectation of a general convention of European powers. 1802: Annual motion for abolition renewed. 1803: Annual motion postponed in consequence of the excitement of the expected invasion. 1804—Abolition carried in the Commons. 1805: Order in council extinguishes the trade to the new colonies. 1806: Abolition again carried in the Commons. *Foreign* slave trade abolished. 1807—[March 25.] British slave trade abolished—Sierra Leone company dissolved, and the settlement given up to government—African Institution formed. 1808: North American slave trade terminated." (*By a law passed, as we have seen, 2d March, 1807.*) "1810: The new government of Venezuela abolishes the slave trade. 1811: Slave trade made felony by Great Britain—Portugal renounces the trade out of her own territory—Chili abolishes. 1812: Buenos Ayres abolishes. 1813: Sweden abolishes. 1814: Denmark and Holland abolish. 1815: France abolishes—Portugal, on receiving a sum of money, abolishes to the North of the equator, and intimates that she will finally abolish in eight years. 1817: Spain, on receiving a sum of money, promises total abolition in 1820, to the North of the equator—Right of Search conceded by Portugal and Spain. 1818: Holland concedes the Right of Search. 1820: Slave trade declared to be piracy by Great Britain *in a treaty with the Arabs on the Red Sea*—AND BY THE UNITED STATES. 1822: The Spanish Cortes prohibits the slave trade. 1824: Slave trade made piracy by Great Britain."

age across the Atlantic. She was the American ship *Elizabeth*—her cargo, eighty-eight emancipated slaves—her place of destination, the Western coast of Africa. Her errand was not to discover a new continent—but to emancipate an old one. She was commissioned as the instrument—not of rapine and crime, but—of philanthropy, of religion and of peace. She went—not to snatch her offspring from the bleeding bosom of that injured continent,—but to restore to Africa a portion of her outcasts—not to invade and to conquer—not to ravage and destroy—not to pamper the superstitions of an idolatrous people—but to unfetter the human mind—to plant the standard of civilization—to lay the foundation of free and liberal institutions—to build temples to the living God. WHO PLANNED THE EXPEDITION? WHO CHARTERED THE ELIZABETH? WHO FURNISHED HER CARGO? The Government of the United States, or the government of any State or territory of the American Union? No, sir,—but private individuals—philanthropists—Western and Southern men—men reared under the institutions of American slavery—themselves slave holders—they were among the patrons of the noble enterprise. And now, without recounting the various expeditions of a similar kind which your Society has fitted out—allow me to say—that under the auspices of such men—under the patronage and control of a private association—with no other means of support than those which have been derived from the munificence of charitable individuals—with no other reliance for success than their own persevering, unabated, undaunted efforts—and the smiles of Heaven—from such a feeble beginning, in the course of twenty years, a colony has been planted, and is growing up on the African coast—a free, flourishing, happy colony of more than three thousand American emigrants, whose destiny, we trust, is beyond the reach of vicissitude,—and *that* the work, in great part, of American slave holders. Let the work proceed as it has commenced—let it proceed, until the population of Liberia shall have swelled to the number of ten or twenty or fifty thousand souls. *Then* if it shall be asked, what slave-holding America has done for the benefit of mankind—for the mitigation of the direful curse of slavery—for the melioration of the condition of the African race, we may turn to that scion of a noble stock—an American colony of emancipated slaves. We may tell of the obliteration of the foulest blot on the character of our age—the traffic in human flesh. We may point to idols prostrate in the dust—to the tall spires of Christian temples glittering in the sun—to altars at whose feet, thousands of worshippers bow before the Christian's, not the Pagan's God—to institutions founded on the basis of religion, and of law—to a land teeming with the bounties of Heaven, and covered with memorials of industry and art—to a people educated, intelligent and free—in a word, to a continent rescued—or destined to be rescued—from the dominion of ignorance and barbarism and superstition and sin. *This* is a consummation worthy the ambition of every American philanthropist. I say nothing in this connexion of the eradication of slavery from our own soil. That is a subject of too much delicacy to be touched. But there are purposes connected with the operations of your Society, wholly independent of its influence upon our domestic institutions, sufficiently high and holy to rouse the efforts and animate the zeal of every man, who aspires to the glory of becoming a benefactor of his species. There are purposes connected with its operations, to the fulfilment of which we are prompted by other and higher motives, than those of personal or even national interest—by our regard for the happiness of millions of our fellow men—by our desire to enlarge the boundaries of the empire of civil and religious freedom—by our love to God and man. If there be on earth a nation bound more than any other by imperious obligations of self protection and public policy—to say nothing of considerations of moral duty—to engage in an enterprise so full of benevolence and patriotism—

ours is that nation. Here in the midst of us—in a land consecrated by the struggles of our forefathers in the cause of liberty,—exist a people, between whom and ourselves there never can, in the nature of things, be any possible affiliation—a people, cut off, as well by the distinction of color, as by the immutable laws of social order, from all connexion or fellowship with ourselves—an inferior and degraded people—

“Steeped in poverty to the very lips;
Giv’n to captivity they and their utmost hopes,”

the descendants of an ancestry, as ignorant as themselves, torn by the hand of rapine from the embraces of their native land, and cast by our parent country upon her dependent colonies, against their consent and contrary to their vehement remonstrances,—of such a people, our tables of population inform us, there are two millions and a half within the limits of the American Union. Recognizing them in the light in which they are regarded by the constitution of the United States, and by the constitutions and laws of the States that tolerate slavery, they are private property. No human power can disturb by violence the tenure by which they are held. With them, therefore, the Colonization Society professes, in the utmost good faith, to have nothing to do.

But closely connected by ties of blood, and bound up with them in a common destiny, is another class, less numerous but equally degraded—of colored freedmen—to the efficacy of whose instrumentality in restoring their father-land, the attention of judicious and benevolent men has long been strongly directed. The same tables of population, to which I have referred, inform us that this latter class amounts in number to more than three hundred thousand souls. The proposition is to civilize Africa by colonizing *them*; and the question arises, can that object be accomplished? Is the achievement practicable? Is it within the compass of human agency, by the use of such means as the Society has resorted to, to establish and perpetuate a colony of colored freemen on the continent of Africa?

It is no part of my purpose to discuss those questions now. The discussion would conduct me into a wide field of speculation. I choose to resort to fact instead of argument. The fact then is, that such a colony *has been established*—established without any material agency of the government of the United States—by a private, association—with extremely limited resources, derived alone from the contributions of benevolent individuals—with a regularly constituted government—permanent, free, and, in regard to its political action, self-supported—a government of laws, enacted mainly by themselves and well adapted to their condition. Such a spectacle exists,—such a work has been accomplished,—and history furnishes no account of an enterprize conducted under such auspices with such signal success.

The remaining question of the practicability of perpetuating the colony, unless it receives the aid and co-operation of the constituted authorities of the United States, is one of great difficulty, and of the deepest interest. What *can* and what *ought* the government to do, in support of an enterprize so vast in its conceptions, so momentous in its results? I am fully aware of the delicacy of the question, and I shall treat it with extreme caution. I am not about to enter into an argument to show, that Congress has the constitutional power to appropriate money for the support, or to assume the direction and control of the affairs, of the Colony. It may be allowable, however, to suggest, that the time has been, when some of our most highest functionaries, some of our wisest constitutional jurists, some of our most esteemed patriots, and some of the enlightened States of this Union, were of opinion that such a power was not denied by the constitution. I propose to speak of what Congress has the *acknowledged* authority to do, in connexion with that which, in the pursuit of a just and beneficent policy it *has* done, without impeachment and without distrust.

Sir, when the law of 1820, for the prohibition of the slave trade went into effect, strong hopes were entertained, that with the concurrence of the civilized nations of the earth, the detestable and inhuman traffic would no longer tarnish an era distinguished for its achievements for the benefit of mankind. But time has proved that those hopes were utterly delusive. At the very moment of my addressing you, the African slave trade is prosecuted to an alarming—nay, unprecedented extent. Never before in the history of the world have its ravages been so destructive of human life—so fraught with human wretchedness and woe. The mind recoils with dismay from the contemplation of the fearful truths, which a slight investigation of the subject discloses; but we owe it to ourselves to look them in the face.

I have said, that the extent of the trade is at this moment alarming and unprecedented. The celebrated historian of the West Indies, Bryan Edwards, computes the number of negroes that were imported, in British vessels, into all the British West Indian and American colonies, at an annual average of twenty thousand, from 1680 to 1786. In the debate in the House of Commons, on the 2d April, 1792, Mr. Fox said, “He thought the least disreputable way of accounting for the supply of slaves, was to represent them as having been convicted of crime by legal authority. What does the House think is the whole number of these convicts exported annually from Africa? *Eighty thousand.*” Mr. Pitt declared, in the same debate, that—“he knew if no evil that ever existed, nor could he imagine any evil to exist, worse than the tearing of *eighty thousand* persons annually from their native land, by a combination of the most civilized nations in the most enlightened quarter of the globe.” In the year 1807, the number of Africans annually enslaved, was estimated at *sixty thousand*, and in 1817 at *two hundred and forty thousand*.

Such was the extent of the trade which invoked so strongly the interposition of the civilized world. To show what it is, I call your attention to a publication, which I have in my hand, of a gentleman of intelligence and distinction in England, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, entitled “The African Slave Trade, and its remedy.” It brings the history down to the year 1840, and the developments it contains of the extent and enormity of the trade, are of a character so astounding, that, if it were not for the respectability of the source from which they come, they would startle us by their apparent exaggeration and defy belief.

Mr. Buxton sets out with the proposition, which he supports with official and documentary testimony, that upwards of 150,000 human beings are annually conveyed from Africa across the Atlantic, and 50,000 into the Mohammedan dominions.

His next resort is to statements and proofs of the *probable mortality* incident to seizure of the victims—to the march to the coast and the detention there before embarkation—to the middle passage, and lastly, the mortality after landing at the place of destination, and in seasoning.

It is impossible, for me to bring those statements and proofs in detail before you. I must content myself, after referring you to them, with the remark, that they exhibit “a complication of human misery and suffering,” which has neither resemblance nor parallel in the annals of mankind.

Mr. Buxton thus sums up his calculations, after a thorough and candid examination of the facts adduced by him :

Of 1,000 victims to the slave trade— <i>One half</i> perish in the seizure, march, and detention,	500
Of 500 consequently embarked,	
Of <i>fourth</i> or 25 per cent perish in the middle passage,	125
Of the remaining 375 landed— <i>One fifth</i> or 20 per cent. perish in the seasoning,	75
Total loss,	700

So that 300 negroes only, or three tenths of the whole number of victims, remain alive at the end of a year after deportation: and the number of lives sacrificed by the system, bears to the number of slaves available to the planter, the proportion of seven to three.

Applying this calculation to the number annually landed at Brazil, Cuba, &c., which he rates at,

Of these one fifth die in the seasoning, - - - - - 150,000

30,000

120,000

The number of lives annually sacrificed being in the proportion of seven to three, - - - - -

Annual victims of the slave trade, - - - - - 280,000

400,000

Proceeding in like manner with the Mohammedan slave trade, we find the numbers to be—

Exported by the Imaum of Muscat, - - - - - 30,000

Carried across the Desert, - - - - - 20,000

50,000

Loss by seizure, march and detention, - - - - - 50,000

50,000

Annual victims of Mohammedan slave trade, - - - - - 100,000

Christians, - - - - - 400,000

400,000

Annual loss to Africa, - - - - - 500,000

500,000

"It is impossible," says Mr. Buxton, "to reach this result, without suspecting, as well as hoping, that it must be an exaggeration.

"I have not however," he continues, "assumed any fact, without giving the data on which it rests; neither have I extracted from those data, any immoderate inference," but "have, in almost every instance, abated the deduction, which might with justice have been made." "If then we are to put confidence in the authorities which I have quoted, (most of them official,) we cannot avoid the conclusion—terrible as it is—that the slave trade annually dooms to the horrors of slavery,

(Christian,) - - - - - 120,000

(Mohammedan,) - - - - - 50,000

170,000

And murders, (Christian,) - - - - - 280,000

(Mohammedan,) - - - - - 50,000

330,000

Total, - - - - - 500,000

500,000

With these appalling facts presented to our view, Mr. President, what course does it become the Government of the United States to pursue? Since the year 1807, when first among the nations, its outstretched arm was wielded for the defence and protection of a down-trodden continent, the atrocities of the slave trade have been a thousand-fold increased—and millions upon millions of an unoffending people, in defiance of the laws of enlightened Christendom, have been doomed either to captivity or to death.

I repeat the question, what, under such circumstances, is it our duty to do? Shall we fold our arms and witness with cold and mute indifference, the laws of the nation trampled on and evaded; the feelings of humanity brutally insulted; the rights of men outraged without a blush? Or shall we nobly exert the powers given to us by the constitution, to exterminate those monsters in the form of men—those guilty destroyers of the innocent and helpless—those implacable enemies of the human family, who have renounced the protection of all laws, in the pursuit of their schemes of carnage and of crime? If the policy, in which your laws of 1807 and of 1820 had their origin, was really demanded by motives of honor, of benevolence, of justice and of patriotism; if the causes which superinduced your legislation upon the slave trade—a legislation that has conferred upon our country a glory as imperishable as its constitution, I trust, will be—

were so imperative then—how strongly are we impelled by a just regard to the national character, to persevere in that policy, until its wisdom and benignity shall be vindicated in the full accomplishment of its ends! Sir, for one, I think there is no receding with honor from the position we have taken; and so deeply am I impressed with a sense of our national responsibilities, that I do not hesitate to declare, humble as I am and incompetent as I feel myself to be, to the discharge of a duty so important in all its aspects, that if no one else shall be found to undertake it, I will bring the subject before the councils of the nation, and invoke their aid in arresting a traffic, which exists only by the sufferance of the great powers of the earth, and which, if it continue to exist, will render them accessaries to a crime, that will stain forever the character of the age in which we live.

Mr. M. then proceeded to submit an answer to the question he had propounded; what *can* and what *ought* the government of the United States to do, towards supporting the Liberian Colony? He did not insist on its direct interposition. However desirable *that* might be to the friends of Colonization, he did not think it indispensable to its success. There were two modes of giving it support, each of which was not only compatible with the constitutional powers of Congress, but was demanded, as he believed, by the consistency and honor, as well as by the interest of the nation.

The first mode was to provide the means of rigidly enforcing the laws for the abolition of the slave trade. The law of 1819, to which he had heretofore referred, contained provisions, authorizing the President to cause the armed vessels of the United States to be employed to cruise on the coast of Africa or elsewhere, where attempts might be made to carry on the slave trade—to make such regulations as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping, support and removal of recaptured Africans—to appoint an agent or agents to reside on the coast of Africa, for their reception there—and a bounty of twenty-five dollars was authorized to be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury, to the officers and crews of the commissioned vessels of the United States or revenue cutters, for every negro delivered to the agent appointed to receive them.

Mr. M. did not know that any systematic efforts were now made by the government to enforce these provisions. Without their enforcement, it was manifest the law was a dead letter; and it could be no matter of surprise, that the slave trade was prosecuted to the extent which had been shown. The whole efficiency of the law depended on the employment of the armed vessels of the United States on the African coast. If that were not done, its other provisions were nugatory. There could be no interception and seizure of piratical vessels—no recaptures of kidnapped negroes—no employment of receiving agents—and the proffered bounty to the officers and crews of the armed cruisers, which was designed as a stimulant to active exertions on their part, was wholly unavailing. Mr. M. was of opinion, that Congress ought to look to it, that these beneficial requirements of the law were enforced. We now have in service and on the stocks several steam ships of war, and it has been proposed to construct an additional number, which he hoped would be ordered before the adjournment of Congress. Nothing seemed to him more available than the employment of such vessels for the suppression of the slave trade. A single steamer cruising on the coast of Africa, would furnish security to a long line of that coast; and an avenue thus would be opened for the substitution of a lawful and profitable commerce for the subsisting commerce in flesh and blood.

The second mode to which Mr. M. had reference, was the introduction of this very commerce; and this brought him to speak of the benefits and advantages of an enlarged commercial intercourse with Africa. The opinion had been advanced by intelligent men, in the correctness of which Mr. M. concurred, that the surest corrective of the

slave trade would be found in substituting a legitimate commerce in its stead. The worthy and well informed gentleman, Dr. Hall, whose statement to the Convention had given so much satisfaction, and whose opportunities of forming a correct judgment entitled it to the highest credit and respect, has told you that the Africans are habitually a commercial people—that their personal agency in ministering to the slave trade is produced by their propensity to barter for the merchandise of the slaver—and that if that trade was abolished, mutual exchanges of their own productions for those of other nations, would necessarily ensue. To some extent these exchanges are now made. The present commerce of Africa is of much greater importance than is generally supposed, and it is rapidly increasing in value.* The principal benefits derived from it accrue to the nations of Europe, and especially to England. There had been no deliberate efforts to direct it into American channels. But it is stated by Dr. Hall, and indeed, no consequence could be more natural—that the establishment of the colonies of Liberia, stretching along a coast of three hundred miles, has already laid the foundations of a commerce with the United States, which was previously monopolized by European trading vessels and slave dealers.. Along the whole extent of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas, the slave trade has ceased—and the result has been, not only a less constrained intercourse with the natives, but a very extensive interchange of commodities, as well with the colonies as with foreign nations.

It would well become the Government of the United States to direct its earnest attention to a subject, with which its interests may be so speedily and intimately connected. The idea of securing to herself the advantages of the commerce of Africa is no new idea with Great Britain. For a series of years her policy has been marked by a strict regard to that object. The conferences of the Congress at Aix La Chapelle exhibit strong proofs of a common jealousy, on the part of the sovereigns of Europe, of her designs upon the African coast, and there is no absolute certainty, that her solicitude for the universal abolition of the slave trade, expressed by her minister on that occasion, may not have been attributable, in part, to her view “of the commercial advantages” to be derived “from the opening of a great continent to British industry.” It was said by Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Commons on the 11th of February 1818, that “in a commercial point of view, it was of incalculable advantage to have the supply of that large tract of country, from the Senegal down to the Niger, an extent of more than 7,500 miles, with the necessities and gratifications which British manufactures and commerce afford.” The immense preparations lately made by her for the exploration and possession of the vast region tributary to the Niger, convey no ordinary meaning; and Mr. M. repeated, that it would be well for the United States, if these extensive movements would arrest the attention of the Government, and cause it to be directed to the facilities which the established colonies of Liberia would afford, for the acquisition of a commerce destined, sooner or later, to become of “incalculable advantage” to the people of this country.

In addition to the effect which an American naval force on the coast of Africa would have in arresting the progress of the slave trade, its employment in that direction would operate as an encouragement as well as protection to the commerce of the United States ;

* The British Colony of Sierra Leone was settled in 1787. Its total population in 1836 was 37,463—of which number 105 were whites. The total value of exports in 1834, was £65,558, of which the amount to Great Britain was £51,231.

The imports from the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast, by one mercantile house in England, for the years 1832-'33, '34, amounted to £276,773. In 1839 the annual importations of palm oil was upwards of 12,000 tons, which at the market price of £28 per ton amounted to £336,000, giving employment to 14,000 tons of shipping.—*Martin's British Colonies*, pages 544 and 546.

and the infant colonies on the coast would derive, from the presence of such force in their neighborhood, a confidence of security which would strengthen them in their career to the maturity that awaits them.

These Mr. M. said, were his views very discursively expressed, and he would detain the Convention no longer, than to offer his acknowledgements for the attention with which they had listened to him.

Francis S. Key, Esq., made a few remarks in reference to the importance of the topics before the Convention, the deep interest of the statements just made, and his ardent desire that the meeting, before its final adjournment should adopt vigorous measures for the benefit of the cause and the colonies of Liberia. When time would allow, he would be happy to address the Convention in reference to some questions which merited its consideration, and he knew that they might hope for the aid of a distinguished senator from Virginia, now present.

On motion of Mr. Gurley, the Convention adjourned to meet the next evening at half past seven o'clock, in the Masonic Hall.

MAY 5th, 1842.

The Convention met in the Masonic Hall. Mr. Underwood again took the Chair.

Mr. Gurley rose and expressed the hope that the meeting would not be in haste to dispose of the matters before them, but patiently consider the immense importance of the subjects submitted—that they concerned the Union of these States—the highest interests of the two most numerous classes of persons in this country, indeed, the welfare of the population of two quarters of the world. Consider the intimate relations of the Colonization scheme to the prosperity of this country—to the suppression of the slave trade—to the civilization of Africa and the moral renovation, through Christianity, of her miserable inhabitants—the success of our African colonies, and also their wants and dangers, and we must feel its weight upon our consciences, and not lightly dismiss it from our thoughts. He would not occupy the time, for he saw before him the distinguished and eloquent senator from Virginia, (Mr. Rives,) who was ever disposed to give his support to every patriotic and philanthropic object, and who, like his honorable friend from Kentucky, whose speech had aroused the deepest sympathies of our nature the last evening, was able to do ample justice to the cause.

The Hon. Wm. C. Rives, then addressed the Convention in a speech replete with able argument, and eloquence of an order which high sentiments of patriotism and philanthropy only could inspire. We regret deeply our inability to present this speech to the public. Mr. Rives alluded to the transient nature of many of the political controversies, and party strifes of the day, when compared with the permanent and increasing beneficence and glory of a scheme adapted to raise the character and enlighten the prospects of a race of men, and bring a whole continent from barbarism to civilization and Christianity. He spoke of what he conceived to be an impossibility, the elevation of the colored race in the United States to social and political equality with the whites, deeming the obstacles in the way of such elevation too numerous and fixed to be overcome by any human power. He discussed at some length the doctrine of De Toque-

ville, that a social and equal union between two races so distinct as the white and colored was not to be expected—that to enjoy the highest privileges of freemen, our colored people must seek them in Africa. He believed Colonization to be a “great and fruitful idea,” and that in time its benefits would be spread abroad throughout vast districts of Africa, and voices of encouragement come and invite the return of her long exiled children. He spoke of the slave trade—and urged with great force the duty of our country to do its part towards its suppression, by affording countenance to our African settlements and maintaining a squadron to act in concert with those of other friendly powers, against it. He alluded to the pledge given by the distinguished senator from Kentucky, (Gov. Morehead) that he would move in the senate of the U. S. for the adoption of some efficient measure on this subject, and avowed his purpose earnestly to co-operate with that gentleman in so humane and noble a design. It was neither consistent with the justice or honor of this nation, to refuse the proposition of England on this subject, unless she proceeded in her own way, honestly and effectually, to aid in effecting the great end which the whole civilized world, were solemnly bound to see attained—the utter extinction of the African slave trade. He alluded to the late work of the Secretary of the Society (the “Mission to England”) as worthy of the deepest attention of all the Friends of the cause, and for its views on the whole subject before the Convention deserving to be everywhere read and considered. He was more deeply than ever impressed with the vast utility of the scheme of African Colonization and that it merited the favor and support of the States and the nation.

The speech was altogether worthy of the great reputation of the very able senator, and excited warm and universal applause.

F. S. Key, Esq., in a brief, but very earnest and effective speech, expressed his gratification that the two senators who had favored the Convention with their sentiments, had pledged themselves to move in the senate on the subject of the slave trade. It was time that this abominable commerce was put down. This could be done only in Africa, and he thought England and America should go together to the chiefs of Africa, and offering to them as a substitute for the traffic in the blood and sinews of their people, the articles they desired, to be paid for in the various rich products of their country, assure them that the slave trade must forever cease. Should they refuse to comply with this proposal, (which he could not believe possible,) let them be cut off from all friendly intercourse with both nations, their factories broken up, and their means of carrying on this trade be utterly destroyed. Then let these nations call upon Spain and Portugal utterly to abandon this trade, or expect the force of these great maritime powers to be arrayed against them. Their refusal would, in his view, be good cause for war.

The Rev. Dr. Parker, (missionary from China,) rose and said, that he had been requested to express his sentiments, and as a friend of man and the African race, he complied with this request. Yet, I never, (he observed,) rose to speak under a sense of so many reasons why I should be silent. For a number of years I have been in a measure secluded from the civilized world, and to a very considerable extent ceased from the use of my mother tongue, while I have been unaccustomed to address deliberative assemblies. If for these reasons I should venture only with delibera-

tion to speak before an ordinary assembly, how much more diffidence must I feel before judges, and honorable and eloquent members of Congress and senators of the United States. But if I am permitted to speak with reverence before the Judge of all the earth, surely with due modesty, I may speak, sir, in your presence, and in that also of the honorable and distinguished citizens around me. In the language of the ancient, I also will show mine opinion, for I have somewhat to say in God's behalf. Yes, sir, for it is not in behalf of man alone we speak when we advocate the claims of the American Colonization Society. *We plead the cause of God.* 'Tis His; for His spirit prompted its organization; His providence has furnished the distinguished men who have conducted its interests, and His blessing has crowned it with success. *It is truly God's.*

It resembles, in the first place, in its character, the morally sublime principle embodied in the British and Foreign Bible Society, uniting in its support men of all religious denominations and political creeds.

In regard to sundry objections urged against it—that it abets the cause of slavery, and is in coalition with those who desire to strengthen and perpetuate the servitude of the colored race; that it is inadequate to the end which it proposes to effect, I remark that its legitimate province is with the free and with those who may be manumitted and with the varied and imperious claims of the 100,000,000 or more of Africa, and that indirectly it operates with salutary power upon the great interests of our federal Union, and upon the African race at the South whatever may be their condition, and we should rejoice therein. If we concede the inadequacy of the scheme as a means of entire relief to the whole colored race, we maintain that it is good as far as it goes. You, sir, recollect the case of the ship *William Brown*, whose life boat was insufficient to save all the ship's company, and of which some were left to perish that a *part* might be saved. What had been the judgment of the whole world had those who controlled that boat refused to rescue as many as they were able, because they could not preserve all? If there be analogy in the cases, we say to those who would dash our life-boat to pieces, in the name of all that is sacred in a few lives, do it not. Let us save those we can, and give us the means and on the same principle and out of similar materials, we may construct an ark that shall save from the overflowing deluge of sorrow and oppression a large portion of all the African race.

Sir, I have intimated my conviction that a new and auspicious era has arrived in the history of the Colonization Society. The sentiments of the whole Christian world are ripe for measures in behalf of long injured Africa. There are indications of Providence to this effect on both sides of the Atlantic. The spirit animating the minds of Sir Thos. F. Buxton, J. J. Gurney and Dr. Hodgkin and the measures of the Earl of Aberdeen, show this in England. Sir, I look at home. The high and noble stand taken by those senators of the United States, who have instructed us by their *wisdom* and captivated us by their *eloquence* during this Convention show this, and was worthy of the men themselves and of the cause. I have no doubt, if these speeches are faithfully reported they will electrify the land as they did the assemblies who had the felicity to hear them. Yes, sir, they will pass throughout the Union and reverberate from the English and African coasts. In the halls, cathedrals and Parliament of Great Britain they will meet with cordial responses. If the Honorable

senator from Kentucky, (Gov. Morehead) should perform no other act, his eloquent address of the other evening was a work worth living for, and gives him a place among the distinguished benefactors of mankind. He will enjoy the consoling consciousness of having discharged a momentous duty to an afflicted and degraded portion of the children of our great common parent. He has shown the constitutional and legal right of Congress to do what may be necessary. We have already denounced the African slave trade as piracy, and affixed to it the penalty of piracy.

Much light had been shed on the early movements of Congress caused by the efforts of the friends of this cause in reference to the slave trade and the disposal of the recaptured Africans. He was glad to observe the resolution to call upon the State legislatures for assistance. Nothing would be more desirable and favorable than for these legislatures to make their appropriations to be expended under the directions of the American Colonization Society. Through this one broad and deep channel let the tributary streams flow.

We may congratulate the Honorable senator from Kentucky that he has so cordial and able a coadjutor in the senator from Virginia. Would that the sentiments of the North and East might respond with the eloquence and power we have heard from the South and West. True it is that warmer hearts and more liberal supporters are not to be found than exist in New England. I quote the words of Judge Daggett of New Haven, "if ever there was a Heaven-born institution, one whose founder and supporters were prompted by the purest motives, it is the American Colonization Society." The disclosures from the South which we have heard, confirm my faith in the Society and I delight to find the hearts of the friends of the cause beat in happier unison in regard to the great objects of the Society.

Dr. Parker then alluded to the great mortality occurring among the colored population going from the South to reside in our Northern cities, and spoke of the encouragement to be derived from the statements of Dr. Hall and the glorious prospects opening before those who went to Africa both to found a new empire and renovate an old one. He spoke of the claims of our commerce on the African coast, of the hitherto unfortunate attempts to suppress the slave trade which he deemed like the endeavor to pump out a leaking ship, when the leak itself might easily be stopped. Let us send men to civilize Africa—our steamers to break up the slave factories and the work will soon be done. He was impressed with the value of colonization from his long residence in Canton, where assembled merchants and travelers from all parts of the empire. Good influences must emanate from Liberia to all parts of Africa. The Rev. gentleman fervently invoked the divine blessing upon the institution.

Governor Morehead (of Kentucky) then rose and offered the following resolution which he supported briefly but ably.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society be requested by this Convention to prepare a memorial to the Legislatures of the several States of the Union, calling their attention to the present condition and prospects of the colonies on the West coast of Africa and soliciting their co-operation in the promotion of the scheme, by the appropriation of money or otherwise—That the memorials be forwarded to

the Governors of the several States with a request to lay the the same before their respective legislatures, and that this memorial be presented for the approbation of this Convention, at its next meeting.

This motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

The Convention adjourned to meet the next evening, in the same place at half past 7 o'clock.

MAY 6, 1842.

The Convention met, and Judge Underwood took the chair.

The President, presented to the Convention the following letter, from the Rev. J. N. M'Leod, a delegate from the New York City Colonization Society which was read.

To the Convention of the "Friends of Colonization" in session in the City of Washington.

GENTLEMEN:—The undersigned was appointed to attend your meeting, in behalf of the "Board of Managers" of the New York State Colonization Society, in company with Anson G. Phelps, Esq. and the Rev. Dr. Spring. The former gentleman has been prevented from appearing, and the latter was under the necessity of leaving the city, after the first evening of your deliberations. I regret that circumstances compel me also to leave town to day, and before I do so, I feel it due to the Convention, to express my hearty concurrence in the objects which they have in view, and in the proposals which have been under consideration the two past evenings, respecting the means of their accomplishment.

As I understand the objects of the Convention, they are, to enlist the aid of the federal and State governments in carrying out the plan of Colonization—to secure to the citizens of our own country the advantages of the African commerce, which is daily increasing in importance—and to destroy the infamous slave trade, by the substitution of a legitimate commerce in its place, as well as by the force of authority.

These are objects which are of surpassing importance to the destinies of two great continents, which, while they are separated by the ocean, are united by their common relations to the colored race. And they ought to commend themselves to the heads, and hearts of every patriot and Christian in the land.

While I regret that the northern section of our country has been so imperfectly represented in the Convention, I have no fears for the results. The movement has been commenced in the right place, and those who have begun it so auspiciously, will find many in all parts of the Union, to co-operate with them in carrying it forward. The proposals of the Convention, are in their influence conservative of our Federal Union; they address themselves to the interests of our commercial men on the sea-board of the North and East, as well as the South; and they come home most powerfully to the common sympathies of our country for African wrongs and oppression. Certainly, then, I cannot be mistaken in saying, that the appeal of this Convention, made here at the seat of government, will meet with a hearty response in all other portions of our common country.

The New York Colonization Society holds its anniversary on the 11th

instant, and I have great pleasure in hearing, that it is to be favored with the presence of the distinguished Secretary of the parent Society. Let him carry with him the proceedings of this Convention; and let him impart to those with whom he shall meet in the commercial metropolis, the generous enthusiasm which has animated your two past meetings, and the work will go on to a successful, and glorious accomplishment.

I am Gentlemen,

Most respectfully, yours,

WASHINGTON, *May 6, 1842.*

JOHN N. McLEOD.

On motion of the Hon. E. Whittlesey, this letter was referred to the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society.

In obedience to the resolution of the Convention adopted the last evening, Mr. Gurley submitted the following memorial to the several State Legislatures which had been prepared by the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society.

MEMORIAL.

The Convention of the friends of African Colonization assembled in Washington City respectfully represent, that, the American Colonization Society having been established near the close of the year 1816, by a respectable body of citizens from every section of this Union for the humane and philanthropic purpose (in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as might adopt regulations on the subject) of founding colonies of free persons of color, with their own consent on the coast of Africa, proceeded to explore that coast, purchase by fair negotiation with the native tribes an eligible tract of country, and assist such free persons of color as were disposed to emigrate in their removal and settlement in Africa.

Impressed with the difficulty and magnitude of the enterprise and the importance, if not absolute necessity of the countenance and aid of the Government, memorials were early addressed to Congress, and in consequence, sustained as they were, by the avowed opinion of the Legislatures of several States, measures were adopted by Congress for the more effectual suppression of the African slave trade, by its denunciation and punishment as piracy, and authority was conferred upon the President of the United States to make such regulations and arrangements as he might deem expedient for the safe keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such Africans or persons of color as might be delivered and brought within their jurisdiction, and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving those persons of color "delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by the commanders of the United States armed vessels."

The then President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, perceiving that the benevolent provisions of this law for the benefit of the re-captured Africans might be most economically and effectually fulfilled, by securing a home for these persons within the limits and under the protection of such colony as might be founded by the efforts and donations of the members and friends of this Society, determined to act in co-operation with the Society in regard to the station to be chosen for the temporary or permanent (as might be) residence of such Africans, and when the Society

had obtained possession, by purchase, of a portion of the tract of country in Africa, since designated by the name of Liberia, such persons were placed upon its soil, under the care of an agent of Government, with such means of subsistence and defence as might enable them ultimately to attain the advantages which it was the endeavor of the Society to secure to those voluntarily engaged, under their auspices, in the establishment of their colony.

Thus the Colony of Liberia rose into existence both as a home for the re-captured Africans restored by the humanity of our Government to their own country, and as a well organized community of free colored men, prepared and disposed to extend their useful arts, laws, civilization and Christianity, far abroad among the native population of Africa.

Animated by the idea that their scheme was equally patriotic and Christian, tending to unite the minds of our countrymen on subjects in reference to which differing and warring opinions are to be deprecated, engaging their thoughts and exertions in measures to remove, with their own consent, our free people of color, and such as may become free, from circumstances and influences that embarrass and depress, to those which stimulate, encourage and exalt, and which must enable them to secure for themselves and posterity a free, independent, national existence, where such an existence may prove with increasing power an element destructive of the atrocious slave trade, and of renovating moral and intellectual life to the barbarous and uncounted tribes and nations of Africa—withdrawing the people of Africa—from the shades of ignorance, from cruel and degrading superstitions, from wars, and their fruitful parent, that infamous commerce which annually, for centuries, has consigned vast numbers of its unoffending inhabitants, of all ages, both sexes, and of all conditions to slavery or death—to industry, to the arts and practices of civilized life, to lawful, profitable, and peaceful trade, and the inestimable privileges of law, letters, liberty and Christianity—stirred by these high considerations, this Society has proceeded, mostly by private means, in its great enterprise. Individuals from every State of our confederacy, of every political and religious opinion, the clergy and the churches of every name, have viewed the plan of the Society as of a character not only unexceptionable but of comprehensive benevolence, operating for good in all relations and directions, embracing in its promised beneficence the interests of both the white and colored races in this country, and of the more numerous population of Africa.

The settlements of Liberia demonstrate the entire practicableness of the scheme. Though embracing but a few thousand emigrants, they exhibit on a distant and barbarous shore models of good government, of free institutions, of order, industry, civilized manners, and Christianity. Their jurisdiction extends along several hundred miles of coast, and the salutary influence of their example along the coast and into the interior still farther. They have legislative assemblies, courts of justice, schools and churches. But it must be recollected that these communities which have done so much for themselves, and so much to spread out the advantages of our civilization and religion before rude and heathen men, who have passed laws for the extirpation of the slave trade on every spot touched by their rightful authority, are of a people, who here enjoyed but very imperfect opportunities and inducements for improvement, who left us almost without means: many of them recently liberated slaves, and all going forth unfortified and

unsustained by either national or State power, to found, in an untried climate, on the borders of a continent remote from civilized nations, a republican commonwealth and the Church of God. They have nobly effected their object. But their condition is one of weakness, of difficulty, of danger, demanding in the judgment of your memorialists, the sympathy, the immediate and generous support, not only of individuals, but of every State Legislature in the Union. To abandon, or even to neglect the communities of Liberia, at this time, when it is clear that all the great and beneficent ends proposed by their establishment may, and that by means which divided among the several States, or paid out of the common funds of the nation would affect injuriously no one interest of the country, and which will be more than repaid with interest by the advantages of African commerce to be secured through those settlements, would be not only a violation of solemn obligation to the people of these colonies, but a sacrifice of the important commercial interests of our country. Your memorialists have abundant evidence to show that these interests on the African coast are becoming of great value, and that to Africa we may look for a market of vast extent to some of our great staple productions, as well as for our manufactures, and that the returns will be in the palm oil, camwood, ivory, gold dust, and the precious gums, and other of the richest products of the most favored regions of the tropics.

It is necessary for your memorialists merely to allude to the various political, social and economical considerations, that should operate with wise and patriotic men, more especially in our southern, and to some extent in all the States of this great confederacy, to incline them to regard with favor the plan and policy of this Society. Nor is it important to consider how far in the progress of this scheme, there may arise some friendly co-operation between the General Government, whose peculiar province it is to foster and protect the commerce of the country and whose acknowledged duty to suppress the African slave trade, still depriving Africa every year of a half a million of her inhabitants, and the governments of the several States impelled by the combined considerations of interest and humanity to contribute to it their aid. To adopt the language of a former memorial, it is the duty of the Society to place the scheme in which they are engaged, before all, who have the power to accomplish it, and to trust that the wisdom and patriotism of those to whom it is committed, will devise the most proper and effectual means for its success. And they prefer in earnestly soliciting for this enterprise the favor and pecuniary aid of the legislature which they have the honor to address, to dwell upon those elevating thoughts so well embodied in the language, slightly modified, of the first memorial ever submitted by this Society to the General Legislature of the Union. "Independently," said the President and Board of Managers at that time, "of the motives derived from political foresight and civil prudence, on the one hand, and from moral justice and philanthropy on the other, there are additional considerations and more expanded views to engage the sympathies and excite the ardor of a liberal and enlightened people. It may be reserved for this nation (the first to denounce an inhuman and abominable traffic, in the guilt and disgrace of which most of the civilized nations of the world were partakers) to become the honorable instrument under Divine providence, of conferring a still higher blessing upon that large and interesting portion of mankind, benefitted by that deed of justice; by demonstrating that a race of men, composing numerous tribes, spread over a

continent of vast and unexplored extent, fertility and riches, unknown to the enlightened nations of antiquity, and who had yet made no progress in the refinements of civilization, for whom history has preserved no monuments of arts or arms, that even this hitherto ill-fated race, may cherish the hope of beholding the orient star revealing the best and highest aims and attributes of man. Out of such materials, to rear the glorious edifice of well ordered and polished society, upon the deep and sure foundations of equal laws and diffusive education, would give a sufficient title to be enrolled among the illustrious benefactors of mankind; whilst it afforded a precious and consolatory evidence of the all prevailing power of liberty, enlightened by knowledge and corrected by religion. If the experiment in its more remote consequences, should ultimately tend to the diffusion of similar blessings through those vast regions and unnumbered tribes, yet obscured in primeval darkness, reclaim the rude wanderer from a life of wretchedness to civilization and humanity; and convert the blind idolater from gross and abject superstition, to the holy charities, the sublime morality, and humanizing discipline of the Gospel—the nation, or individual that shall have taken the most conspicuous lead in achieving the benevolent enterprise, will have raised a monument of that true and imperishable glory, founded in the moral approbation and gratitude of the human race; unapproachable to all but the elected instruments of divine beneficence—a glory, with which the most splendid achievements of human force or power must sink in the competition, and appear insignificant and vulgar in the comparison. And above all should it be considered, that the nation or the individual, whose energies have been faithfully given to this august work, will have secured, by this exalted beneficence, the favor of that Being whose compassion is over all his works, and whose unspeakable rewards will never fail bless to the humblest effort to do good to his creatures.

The Colony of Cape Palmas, is a conclusive evidence of what a single state, and by an appropriation of a few thousand dollars annually can accomplish, in this *cause*. A prosperous Colony of about six hundred emigrants has risen, with all the order and institutions of a well organized Society, under the fostering care of the Legislature of Maryland, and citizens of this state at the cost of less than the establishment of a single plantation of the South.

But it is vain to expect, that either the various interesting settlements scattered along an extended line of coast, under the care of the parent society, and opening a rich and inviting territory for the possession and home of our free colored population or the settlement at Cape Palmas, can prosper, maintain themselves against the adverse influences of great power, with which they are contending, effect the high purposes for which they have been planted, unless their numbers shall by emigration, be augmented, and increased funds be supplied by the bounty of individuals, the States, or the nations. An annual appropriation for the present of even ten thousand dollars, from the Legislature of each State with the aids which may be anticipated in the Union from the donations of benevolence would throw a new light of hope and cheerfulness over the settlements of Liberia, and give assurance that Africa herself must rise from ruin to stand in honor and power among the nations of the world.

On motion of Governor Morehead this memorial was adopted and it was ordered that a copy thereof be forwarded to each Legislature of the

United States for the purpose of being brought, forthwith, to the attention of all of them.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Gurley on the evening of the first meeting of the convention having been read seriatim, it was determined to consider them separately.

The first resolution was adopted without amendment.

The second resolution being under consideration, at the suggestion of Mr. Key the clause "was designed to be a National Institution" was stricken out, and the clause "as they may deem consistent with their constitutional powers and duty" was added at the close of the resolution, so that as finally adopted, it reads thus:

"Resolved, That this Society, in the prosecution of its exclusive object, the Colonization with their consent of the free people of color, residing in in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, being required by the terms of its constitution, to act in co-operation with the General Government, or such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject, may justly look for such measure of support from the Federal and other Governments of the country as they may deem consistent with their constitutional powers and duty."

The third and fourth resolutions were adopted without amendment.

The fifth resolution was, at the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Hawley and with the assent of the mover, amended by striking out the words "if not threatened with extinction" so that it reads as follows:

"Resolved, That at this time, when our country is agitated by conflicting opinions on the subject of our colored population; when Africa is deprived annually, by the most cruel commerce of nearly or quite half a million of her inhabitants; when thousands are turning their thoughts and hearts to Liberia as a small and attractive Christian state, looking forth to animate our hopes of the redemption of the most degraded and afflicted portion of the world, when this Colony is exposed to danger, we are urged by the highest and most affecting considerations that ever roused patriotic and Christian men to action, to adopt a national policy, that shall tend to unite our own citizens, benefit our colored population, overthrow the slave trade and bless enduringly two races of men, and two of the largest quarters of the globe."

The sixth resolution was adopted, without amendment.

The seventh resolution was modified by the substitution of the word "Colonies" for "Colony" of Liberia, so that it reads:

"Resolved, That it should be deeply impressed upon the public mind, that both as auxiliary and protective to the interests of American commerce on the African coast, and as a means for the extinction of the slave trade, the Colonies of Liberia are of incalculable importance, and deserve the vigorous and generous support of this nation."

All the other resolutions in the series offered by Mr. Gurley were then adopted unanimously.

Mr. Gurley then rose and said, that he had just seen announced in the

papers the decease of an aged, venerable and generous friend of the American Colonization Society, the Hon. Elijah Paine, late Judge of the District Court of the United States in Vermont. For many years had this excellent man labored in the cause and for the children of Africa, and but recently had given, out of his own means, one thousand dollars to the Colonization Society. It was to his exertions, in great part, that money continued to flow, annually, into the Society's Treasury from the State of Vermont. It was hardly a month since he (Mr. Gurley,) had received a letter from him evincing his unabated zeal and attachment to the great objects of the Society. Feeling, therefore, that the cause had experienced no common loss in the death of this venerable individual, he begged leave to submit the following resolution which he believed would be cordially approved by every member of the Convention :

"Resolved, That this Convention has heard with profound grief and regret of the decease of the Hon. Elijah Paine, President of the Vermont Colonization Society, one of the earliest, ablest and most munificent benefactors of this institution."

This resolution was passed unanimously.

The Hon. H. L. Ellsworth and the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey made some very important statements and remarks in relation to numerous and affecting letters received by the Executive Committee of which they were members, and the pressing pecuniary wants of the Society, in order to assist more than two hundred emigrants now ready and anxious to emigrate to Liberia.

The Rev. Mr. Bulfinch commenced his remarks by saying that he rose in compliance with a request addressed to him just before the commencement of the present meeting, and should therefore present such thoughts as had occurred with but little preparation. He thought that the cause of Colonization had suffered from being viewed too exclusively in connection with that of emancipation in this country. On this subject he should say but little, for two reasons. It seemed to him unnecessary to connect the cause before the Convention with the exciting topic adverted to. The object of the Colonization Society was in their constitution stated to be, the settlement of the *free* colored people upon the coast of Africa with their own consent. Emancipation, then, was not included as part of the object of the Society's efforts. True, members of the Society and others might form their own opinions about the ultimate result of their labors; they might come to different conclusions on the subject without exposing the Society itself justly to the charge of inconsistency. But another reason he had for regarding the Colonization cause, in his present remarks, in those points of view which were distinct from the question of abolition, was, that should he enter on that question, his own views might be found at variance with some which had been expressed by other speakers. He desired rather to occupy that common ground, on which all the friends of the cause could meet. And was not this common ground sufficient? Two grand objects were legitimately and without objection on the part of any, within the contemplation of the Society, as the result of its labors. One was, the suppression of the slave trade; the other, the civilization and conversion of Africa. Are not two such objects enough, without uniting with them any other, to render this the noblest undertaking that ever demanded the energies of of the philan-

thropist and the Christian? The suppression of that trade which been had for centuries the disgrace of civilized man, and the raising of a mighty continent to participation in the blessings of intellectual, moral and religious light,—were not these sufficient? What mind so vast, what philanthropy so capacious, that these could not fill?

To these two objects, then, in the accomplishment of which the Colonization Society might bear its part, he should confine his remarks. And first, with regard to the slave trade. Who had not heard the melancholy tale of the sufferings endured by its unhappy victims? The internal wars of Africa; the thousands of lives lost in combat; the severing the prisoners from their country and their home; their loathsome confinement by hundreds in the crowded slave ship; the lives lost during that dreadful passage; the murders perpetrated to conceal the character of the vessel, or to lighten her of her load. Who had not heard of these? Yet these horrors still continued, though so long the indignation of the Christian world had been directed against them.

Many years ago, before any other power had declared against this shameful traffic, one great nation, our own, our beloved country, had uttered her voice and denounced it in the name of humanity. She then had stood proudly eminent, in the station that became her, as the great republic of modern times, amid the admiration of the civilized world. But years have passed by, and we survey another scene. That unhallowed traffic still continues, and nation is calling unto nation to put it down. The world has become sensible of the disgrace which humanity has too long endured. In the time-worn monarchies of Europe, the impulse is felt, and noble sentiments, first uttered here, meet with a response in every cabinet there; and the action taken in the cause shows that warm human feelings can glow beneath the purple on the breast of kings. And now one nation holds back;—one nation alone seems ready to declare that her inviolable flag shall screen the miscreant whom she was herself the first to denounce as a pirate. Our country! shall this be so? No! we trust, indeed, we know, that the subject of the right of search will be settled in a manner which shall in every point of view maintain our nation's honor. But there needs more than this. Not only should the United States give their assent to the measures adopted by the rest of the civilized world in this great cause. They should take the lead. They should resume that station which long since they claimed. Our Colony on the African coast should be made the centre of active operations on the part of our naval force against the robbers of the sea; while by its influence exerted inland, it destroyed at once the facilities for the unhallowed traffic and the wish to engage in it; substituting an honorable commerce for the horrors that had hitherto existed, and the spirit of Christianity, the spirit of love, for that savage thirst for gain that has led the miserable natives, for ages past, to make merchandise of their brethren.

While on the subject of the slave trade, he would relate an anecdote told him a few days since by a gentleman of this city, illustrating the manner in which the laws of our country had been evaded by some unworthy citizens. Some years since, the gentleman referred to had visited one of the Spanish islands. While he was there, an American vessel arrived, with an American captain and an American crew. They disposed of their cargo; and then a nominal sale took place; the American papers were deposited with the consul, and papers from the authorities of the island procured, and the vessel, now denationalized proceeded on a slaving voyage to

the coast of Africa, in charge of a Spanish captain. And who was the captain? A boy, fourteen years of age, who was hired at so much per week to give his powerful protection in making piracy legal.

But besides the suppression of the slave trade, there remained another object, and one which might well engage all the energies of Christian philanthropy. The undertaking of African Colonization was emphatically a missionary undertaking. And what might be the success of Christian missionaries there, when the spirit in which the enterprise was carried on, should come to be known and appreciated among the inhabitants of the coast? It had been his pleasure, a short time since, to listen to an address from a most intelligent man, a chief of the Choctaw tribe of Indians. He had heard with surprise of the advances made by that and other tribes, in Christian education and the arts of civilized life. The idea was now refuted, that it was impossible to Christianize and enlighten Indians. It had been effected; and tribes, savage but a short time since, were now with joy receiving the glad tidings of the kingdom of God. But in addressing the Indians, the missionary had everything against him. The white man had come among them, of a different race from their own; he had waged war against them; he had appeared sometimes as a wrathful conqueror, at other times as a tempter, beguiling and corrupting them by his intoxicating draught. The Indian looked upon the white man as his foe; and often would he tauntingly reply to the exhortations of the missionary, by telling him to teach his own brethren justice and forbearance, before he came to enforce the lessons of his religion upon the red man. Yet had the missionary won his way, and savage tribes were bending to the sceptre of the Savior. In what a different aspect will Christian influences approach the benighted myriads of Africa. The colonists appear, not as conquerors, but as brethren, of the same race as those whom they strive to enlighten. And while inviting them to the reception of the white man's faith, they are themselves the monuments of the white man's mercy and justice. It is in the voice of Christian sympathy and love that America addresses Africa, long and deeply injured Africa. We call on her children to abandon that horrible traffic in which the merchandise has been their brethren's flesh and blood. We too, we tell them, have sinned in this thing,—not like you, for we sold not our own fellow-countrymen and those of our own race, to strangers; but we have sinned. And now we come to you, and we bring to you these your brethren, whom we have liberated, and for whom we have purchased from you this home on your shore. We bring you that sacred book from which we have learned thus to do. It is the law of love, the law of God. Your soil is already hallowed as the resting place of some, who have died willing martyrs to your good and to the promulgation of this great law. Here rests the heroic ASHMUN, here rests BUCHANAN, here rest others who like them have given their lives for the glory of God and the good of man. These are the pledges of our sincerity. We have given of our substance,—we have given you of the lives of the most valued among us, that we might atone for the wrongs of Africa, that we might win this continent for Christ." Mr. President, can such an appeal be unheeded? Can the moral influence of this noble enterprise fail to aid, most powerfully, the direct efforts of the missionary in diffusing through that neglected and unhappy land, the blessings of civilization, and of true and pure religion?

Mr. Key moved an adjournment to Monday evening at half past seven

o'clock, and also that a Committee be appointed to obtain the use of a suitable church for Sunday evening, and for securing at that time a general meeting of the friends of the cause from the several churches in the city, in order to spread its wants before them, and obtain their contributions for its relief. Messrs. Key, Gurley and Seaton were appointed on this Committee.

The Convention then adjourned until Monday evening at half past seven o'clock.

May 9th 1842.

The Convention met, at the hour appointed, in the Rev. Mr. Rich's church 4½ street when the Hon. Mr. Underwood resumed the chair. Mr. Gurley made a few observations, and was followed by the Rev. Mr. Clark, of Washington City, who expressed in a very pertinent and impressive manner his convictions that much aid would be secured to the Society, were the clergy generally informed of many interesting facts that had been submitted to the Convention. He thought they might properly be called on, to preach each of them, a sermon on the subject of African Colonization, and to show how vitally the scheme was connected with all the great interests of Africa. He moved a resolution which after having been, on motion of the Rev. Mr. Hawley, (who alluded to the fact of his suggestion years ago that the 4th of July would be a most appropriate time for collections for this Society) slightly modified, was adopted as follows :

“Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to prepare a circular embodying the most important facts relative to the present condition and wants of the Society, and send the same to the different clergymen throughout the United States, with the request that a discourse be preached to their respective societies, and a collection be taken up about the 4th of July next, or at such time as may be most convenient to the clergy respectively, in aid of the funds of the American Colonization Society.”

Mr. Gurley said that in compliance with a suggestion of his friend Mr. Key, he had embodied in the form of a resolution the idea of personal individual exertions for the cause—a matter of special, of immense importance, for in truth, the very life of the cause depended upon the personal efforts of its friends. He then submitted the following resolution :

“Resolved, That this Convention are deeply impressed with the great necessity, at the present time, of personal exertions on the part of the friends of the American Colonization Society, to extend its influence and especially to increase its resources, and that every friend of the institution be earnestly requested to make collections for its benefit, and transmit the amount to the Society.”

Mr. Key then read the following resolution :

“Resolved, That a committee be appointed to prepare and present a me-

memorial to Congress, recommending such measures to be taken for the protection of the colonies now established on the African coast, the promotion of American commerce on that coast, and the suppression of the slave trade, as the national legislature may approve."

In sustaining this resolution, Mr. Key said :

He should not detain the Convention longer than would be necessary to show what measures might be asked and expected from Congress in relation to the subjects mentioned in the resolution, and some of the important consequences that would result from their adoption.

All would agree that nothing should be asked, or could be expected, from Congress, that was not plainly within the constitutional limits of their powers and duties. The action of Congress is to be solicited in the memorial contemplated by the resolution, in behalf of three objects : The protection and promotion of American commerce on the coast of Africa—the suppression of the slave trade—and the protection of the colonies now established on that coast.

That the power of Congress extended to the first of these objects, the protection of our commerce, everywhere, was shown in the plain words of the Constitution. It was equally plain that it would be a duty Congress would never hesitate to discharge, whenever protective measures should seem to be necessary or proper.

All he had to show, therefore, under this head was, that protection and encouragement, are now necessary and proper to be extended, to our trade on that coast.

Those who had the gratification of hearing the very interesting statements of Dr. Hall in relation to African commerce, made during the Convention, could not doubt that those statements alone, coming from a highly respectable and intelligent gentleman, personally acquainted with the trade, and the facts he stated, would enable the Convention to make out a strong case, justifying and requiring the action of our Government, by the adoption of the usual and proper measures for protecting and fostering a commerce now presenting great inducements to American capital and enterprise.

To the representations of Dr. Hall could also be added much additional evidence, to the same effect, derived from recent and authentic sources, and confirmed by all the discoveries which had been made of the population, productions and resources of that great and long hidden continent.

We shall thus be enabled to show that a population estimated at 150,000,000 is to be found upon that quarter of the globe. That they inhabit a country, unsurpassed by no other portion of the earth in the fertility of its soil, the excellence of its climate, and the richness and variety of its products, and that it is intersected by mighty rivers, inviting the commerce of the world to its most interior recesses.

We might conclude even with less information than this, that the great Creator of the earth had not left this portion of his work unblest with the abundant means which his bountiful hand dispenses everywhere else, for the sustenance and comfort of man, and to invite distant nations to meet together, as the members of a common family, in the interchanges of a peaceful and civilizing commerce.

And we now know that it is so. Light has pierced into the thick darkness that has long enveloped that outcast continent, and the treasures and blessings of a benignant Providence are seen to smile in all her plains and wave in all her forests.

It is true this fair creation of God has been marred by the wickedness of man. A trade abominable and detestable beyond all epithets that can be given to it, at the very name of which the blood curdles, and no man hears it, who

—“ Having human feelings, does not blush
And hang his head, to think himself a man,”

has long desolated Africa, and disgraced the world.

This trade has been stamped with the double curse of offended Heaven—curse to the givers and receivers of the guilty traffic—to Africa, in the wretchedness, rapine and murder of her children, and to her rapacious tempters in innumerable, just and fearful retributions.

The wrath of God has been manifested at this crying iniquity on the blood-stained borders of all her coasts, where the angry elements are let loose against this inhuman trade. What is the stormy cloud that darkens these infested shores, but the frown of the Almighty? What the fierce tornado, but the blasting of the breath of his displeasure?

It is true that, under this curse, Africa has long groaned and bled, and many a fair field and happy village and crowded town has been made a wilderness. It is true she is still an awful sufferer. Even now, while we are speaking of her wrongs, some distant and peaceful hamlet, hitherto beyond the reach of the spoiler, hidden and hoped to be secured by intervening forests, has been hunted out and surrounded, and its sleep awakened by the shout of ruffians.

But these horrors will have an end. The dawning of a better day appears. These wronged and wretched out-casts will be brought back into the family of nations. The crimes that warring elements and fearful visitations and judgments could not restrain shall have a conqueror. Man shall be honored as the instrument in accomplishing this work of mercy. Man's heart shall be softened and humanized; and glowing with love to God and man, go forth on this errand of compassion. Thus the virtue and benevolence of man shall repair the outrages committed by the inhumanity of man. The trade that has wasted and debased Africa shall be banished by a trade that shall enlighten and civilize her, and re-people her solitary places with her restored children. And Africa, thus redeemed and rescued from her curse, and the world from its reproach, shall

“Vindicate the ways of God to man.”

Already has this unhappy race been brought to see that they can participate in the commerce of the world without crime and misery—that providence has blessed their land with abundant resources—that instead of offering their wretched and plundered brethren in exchange for the commodities of other climes, they have enough in the rich productions of their own soil, to invite the trade of all nations to their shores. There are now on the coast of Africa, nations who no longer trade in human beings. There are now hundreds of miles on that coast where this awful trade has ceased; where hundreds and thousands of peaceful natives hear no more the signal gun of their cruel spoilers, tempting the strong to violence and rapine, and filling the weak with terror. In the place of that trade that laid waste their country and debased their people, checking every effort of industry, stifling every virtuous impulse, and exciting to every vice, a lawful and humanizing commerce has been substituted, and under its influence, the African is rising from his degradation to his true rank and condition as a man, and rejoices in the labors and pursuits of a peaceful and happy life. There has been no difficulty in effecting this change wherever proper means have been used to accomplish it. The portions of that ill-fated continent thus delivered are gradually extending their limits. These bright spots are diffusing their light over the surrounding darkness. The trade thus established, though originating in motives of humanity that have been richly rewarded, has now assumed a fixed course and character, and offers all the ordinary inducements of mutual profit to commercial intercourse. Nothing has been more interesting in the progress of this Convention than the information laid before it, particularly that derived from Dr. Hall, of the present state, the rapidly increasing extent and importance and boundless prospects of this legitimate African commerce.

Mr. Key here referred to the answers of Dr. Hall, and other recent publications, and

showed the value and inexhaustible amount of many of the productions of that continent, and their importance to the other parts of the world, and the advantages of having so vast a market opened for the products and manufactures of our country. He also showed the profitable nature and extent of the trade even at present; how rapidly it had increased within a short period, and how necessarily that increase must continue.

He adverted to the immense demand for trade goods in Africa now supplied by the slave trade, of which increasing portions every year would fall into the course of this commerce. How that demand would increase as the slave trade disappeared, (he said,) was obvious. What would be its extent and importance to the rest of the world, when that vast continent, freed from its desolating scourge, should reward the labor and enterprise of a reclaimed, civilized, and increasing population, no human imagination could conceive. As no limits could be assigned to its demands, so none could be set to the extent, variety and richness of her returns. The spontaneous productions of her boundless and neglected forests alone, filled with innumerable and valuable dye-woods, and the majestic Palm, the ancient and acknowledged symbol of fertility would furnish the richest subject of commerce for ages. But when a trade like this shall have enlightened all her coasts, and the borders and sources of all her rivers, when Africa shall retain and nurture and enrich her children, and they shall repay her maternal care by all the culture that civilization and a pure and peaceful religion shall have taught them, who can tell what shall be her place and name among the nations of the earth?

He had then (he trusted) shown the clearest and strongest case for the action of the General Government.

A trade of considerable extent and importance already in operation—rapidly increasing—and opening prospects the most inviting to commercial enterprise. Laying aside all consideration of the great consequences to be accomplished by it in the rescue of a wretched and oppressed race, and the gratification of the purest and best feelings of our nature, and regarding it only as a matter of trade, for its gains, and who could hesitate to say that here was a branch of American commerce, deserving and demanding both protection and encouragement.

How these are to be afforded, it is for the wisdom of Congress to determine. The Convention has heard what will enable it to show the necessity of doing something, that shall enable our citizens to participate equally with those of other nations in a trade that promises to be profitable to all, and that shall assure to such as may engage in it, the same advantages that are extended to other branches of our national commerce.

The resolution recommends another and kindred subject as proper to be presented to the consideration of Congress. This is the African slave trade.

If this abomination was now for the first time to be brought before Congress, there could be no doubt of its power to entertain it, from its necessary connexion with the subject already spoken of: For it is emphatically the enemy of lawful commerce, as it is of every thing else beneficial and honorable to man. Its direct tendency is to close up ports that should be free and open markets to the vessels of all nations, and to fill the seas, the great and common highway of all, with lawless plunderers and pirates.

But it is not now for the first time to present itself to the legislation of our national councils. The American Congress has the acknowledged honor of being the first to take away the sanctions of law from its pursuits; the first to denounce its inhumanity, and fix upon it the brand and punishment of piracy, and the first to propose, by the common consent of nations, that the slave trader should be subject every where to seizure and punishment, as the enemy of the human race.

Mr. Key here referred to the various acts and resolutions of Congress, the address of the British Parliament to the Prince Regent of 9 July, 1819, the Report of the Afri-

can Institution of England, the correspondence between Mr. Adams and Mr. Canning in 1823, and particularly the resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States of 8 March, 1823, by which "the President of the United States was requested to enter upon, and to prosecute from time to time such negotiations with the several maritime nations of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world."

He also referred to the declarations and proceedings, and great and continued efforts of the British Government to suppress this trade, particularly to the treaty Madrid of 22 September 1819, by which Spain consented to the immediate abolition of the trade North of the Equator, and promised its entire abolition after 1829; for which concession the British Government paid the sum of £400,000 sterling.

Here (he said) we had the gratification of seeing that the great and proud land of our ancestors, had zealously and powerfully seconded the declarations and acts of our government for the suppression of this crime. The efforts of England to accomplish this great object have been most costly and unceasing. Under the influence of a just and laudable humanity and a wise policy, she has ever persevered in her war upon this trade. Mr. Wilberforce, the best and greatest of her Statesmen, in 1818, in a speech in the House of commons, upon the Spanish treaty, speaking of the sum paid to Spain for acceding to the abolition of the trade, said "he could not but think that the grant to Spain would be more than repaid to Great Britain in commercial advantage by the opening of a great continent to British industry—an object which would be entirely defeated if the slave trade was to be carried on by the Spanish nation."

Thus, it appears, that two of the greatest maritime nations have long since decreed the destruction of this infamous traffic, and pledged themselves to the world for its accomplishment. Nothing therefore can be more in accordance with the declared will of the American people, nor within the admitted sphere of action of their Representatives, than to invite their attention to the interesting subject on which they have thus spoken and acted: and lay before them the information this Convention has obtained in relation to the present state and circumstances of this trade.

And nothing can be more opportune than such a consideration of this subject now. It seems a design of Providence that the two great nations, who have united in the noble and holy resolution of effacing this foul blot from the face of the earth, should be brought together, in amicable conference, to determine what remains to be done to accomplish what they have vowed.

Let us then present this subject to our people and their representatives—and to the people and representatives of a nation, as willing and ready as our own, to co-operate in this great work—let us show them,

How it is, that the slave trade has not been abolished—

And how it may be abolished.

The slave trade, though thus denounced, and thus warred upon, has not been abolished!

Nay, it is worse—it has not been diminished! It is still worse—it has increased—and increased in every way—in extent, and in atrocity. We can refer to calculations recently and reasonably made, from facts well accredited, in England, to show that the extent of the trade is greater than ever. It is thus shown that this pestilential crime now sweeps from Africa, every year, upwards of half a million of her people!

We can show also, from sources equally authentic, that the horrors attendant upon this unnatural and wanton waste of human life, are far more terrible than were ever seen, or could have been expected, even in the perpetrators of this hardening and brutifying traffic.

It is now a fearful and horrid process, carried on under the constant dread of pursuit, in sharp fast sailing vessels, with the malice and fury of fiends. The wretched victims are wedged together in the foul and close recesses of these prisons, with scarcely space enough to each for the heart to swell in the agony of its despair. The very slave traders of former days would be shocked to look into the hold of a modern slave ship. If, in the days of Clarkson and Wilberforce, when the pictures of the interior of the vessels then in use, roused the indignation of their countrymen, a slave trader of that day could have been shown the representations now given of vessels recently captured by British cruisers, and he could have been told that the cruelty of his trade would ever reach such a measure of enormity, he would have indignantly repelled such an intimation, and said—

“Am I a dog that I should do such things?”

Mr. K. then referred to the documents and official statements and estimates in the late work of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton—and to papers in the same and other publications, showing the present course and state of the slave trade, and the inefficiency of the means used for its abolition.

We are thus constrained to say that all this strong desire and these strenuous and persevering efforts had accomplished nothing—that over all this opposition, the slave trade had achieved an impious and awful triumph. So manifest is this, that the humane author to which he had referred, in the conclusion of his great and benevolent work, admits that it is “better to do nothing than to go on, year after year, at great cost, adding to the disasters and inflaming the wounds of Africa.”

The means then, that have been used, have failed—utterly failed—and even, if nothing else can be done, had better be abandoned. Better let the spoiler seize his prey, without inflaming his cupidity and his cruelty by opposition—better let him bear it away slowly and securely, than give him, by pursuit, temptations to torture, and the plea of its necessity.

What have these means been?

Treaties and stipulations with the nations whose shores are still polluted by the reception of this impious merchandize of human beings. Treaties and stipulations, bought and paid for, solemnly engaging to prohibit and prevent these importations, and yet utterly disregarded. In some places perhaps attempted, vainly and by insufficient means, to be enforced, in others connived at, in others openly and shamefully permitted, in all, the demand and the supply as great if not greater, than ever.

In the same work to which he had already referred were to be seen in the Reports of the British Commissioners, and the despatches and correspondence of Lord Palmerston, and other official documents, the clearest evidence of the want of will, or the want of power, or both, in the officers of Spain and Portugal, and some of the South American States to fulfil the stipulations they have made, to stop the importation of slaves within their territories.

So manifest is this, that Lord Palmerston stated in 1838, in a letter to Sir G. Villiers, that “no reliance can be placed upon any of the subordinate authorities of the Spanish Government, either in the colonies, or in Spain herself, for the due execution of the laws of Spain, and of the treaties for the suppression of the slave trade.” And Sir T. Buxton in his very recent work “declares his conviction that the trade will never be suppressed by this system”—that “its enormous gains will defeat it.”

This measure, then, of negotiating treaties with the nations into whose territories slaves are introduced, has failed.

Can any thing be done to make it more effectual? England, with whom these treaties have been made, has the right to enforce their fulfilment. She may make their in-

fraction cause of war; and her power might enable her alone to prosecute such a war successfully. But unless similar treaties could be made with other nations, they could have no such right of interference in the internal concerns of other states. Could our country and the other civilized nations obtain, by commercial advantages, or otherwise, similar treaties, so that the voice, and if need be, the arms of all the civilized world could be brought to bear on these States, then success might be expected.

There are great difficulties in the way of such a scheme, perhaps, at present, impracticable. But we may hope that a time may come when the nations now allowing these importations may be induced, by motives of humanity and interest, to enter into such engagements. It must, no doubt, to be just, be voluntary. And other nations, from the same motives, and seeing the importance of opening the African trade to themselves and to the world, may find adequate inducements to such negotiations. Till then, these means cannot be available.

Another measure resorted to, and most earnestly prosecuted by the British Government, is the pursuit and capture of slave vessels on the ocean. Something has, no doubt, been effected by these means. Many vessels have been captured, and many slaves delivered. But the number compared with that of those that have escaped, has been insignificant. And it is now seen and admitted that no sensible diminution of the trade can be expected from any force, and any vigilance that are brought to arrest it on the ocean. the amount, of what is thus restrained, being far less than the increase arising from the continually increasing cupidity with which it is prosecuted.

All this (he said) was manifested by the reports of the British Governors and officers on the coast collected by Sir Thomas Buxton: and that writer expresses unreservedly his despair of seeing any thing effectual accomplished, unless other measures are adopted. This has been no surprise to those whose opinions on this subject were formed from correct information of the state and course of the trade. One of the earliest movements of the American Colonization Society, was to send two intelligent gentlemen to visit and explore the coast of Africa, and obtain all necessary information of the circumstances under which the trade was conducted, and of the habits and dispositions of the natives. The journal of this interesting voyage by Mr. Mills and the information given by his worthy associate, Mr. Burgess, accord remarkably with the views now presented in Sir Thomas Buxton's book, and the answers and explanations made to the Convention by Dr. Hall. In their third annual Report in 1821, the Society expressed their decided conviction that the slave trade could never be suppressed by action on the ocean, but could only be extirpated by operations on the land, where it originated, and the same opinion has been often since expressed in subsequent Reports. Experience has shown that these opinions were correct, and the persons best informed upon the subject, now, with one voice, acknowledge the inefficiency of these means of prevention.

It is plain therefore that the two great nations, united in a common declaration of extermination against the slave trade, must adopt other and more decisive means of operation, than those heretofore exerted.

The question now is—what shall these means be?

It is perhaps worthy of consideration, whether both these nations cannot devise some legislative restraints upon the indirect aid and facilities afforded by some of their citizens, to the commerce of the slave traders. In our country it is believed are the principal builders of the vessels of the slave traders. In England, as shown by Sir Thomas Buxton, a very large proportion, if not almost all, of the trade goods, and the utensils and implements of the trade, used by the slavers, are manufactured. The sales of such goods and implements and vessels, if innocently made, in ignorance of the use for which they were intended, could not be restrained: and it would be difficult, if not impossi-

ble, in most cases, to affect the manufacturers with the knowledge of the use for which they were purchased. It is evident that, though some degree of restraint might be thus imposed upon the trade, nothing decisive or permanent could be expected from such legislation. Something far beyond this is necessary to accomplish the object.

What that is, we cannot now reasonably doubt. A clear and most unanimous opinion, founded upon long experience and undoubted facts, has been pronounced by British Governors and officers long familiar with the coast of Africa, the situation and disposition of the natives, and the operations of those engaged in the trade. A humane and intelligent association in England with Sir T. Buxton at its head, has been investigating this subject for years, and has now given to the world the result of its labors. Many of our citizens, who for upwards of twenty years past have directed their attention to the same objects; and naval officers and agents of our Government, who have been upon the coast, have on frequent occasions expressed their views upon the subject.

These all concur in designating the true remedy for the evil that has so long baffled all other efforts: and it has every quality that seems necessary to justify the strongest hopes of its success.

It seeks not to lop off the branches that may be within our reach, but strikes at the root of the evil. It assails the trade, where it begins, on the soil of Africa; not on the ocean, where it has the means of escape. It depends not on catching flying purchasers who may escape, but stops the sale, so that there may be no purchasers. If it can create such a state of things in Africa, that there shall be no market for slaves there, the object is accomplished.

Such a state of things can only be created by opening another market, by the substitution of another trade.

Commerce, Civilization and Colonization, each introducing the other, each promoted by, and promoting each other, working together in concert to offer to the natives the supplies they need, and showing them that they can be had for prices far short of the blood and misery heretofore demanded for them. Showing them that their forests and fields present all around them, and to all, abundant means of payment—that they should prefer the certain products of peaceful labor to the sad chances of intestine war.

That the wretched natives of that continent would be influenced by such inducements, and were prepared to receive this substitute for the trade which now stimulates them to mutual violence and slaughter, is proved by the evidence of those just referred to, by the circumstances attending the trade, and by the success which has already attended the efforts to effect such changes among them.

The coast of Africa is peopled by a belt of feeble and distinct kingdoms, easily accessible to the influence of those who will bring trade to them of any description, and easily awed by the appearance of naval force. On those parts of the coast where they have discontinued the slave trade, a great and rapidly increasing improvement has taken place in their condition and habits, and they are now engaged in procuring the products of their country, and availing themselves of the advantages of commerce. Where the slave trade still prevails, they are the factors or agents between the interior kings, who drive down their gangs of slaves, and the slave ships. This intermediate agency is necessary to the trade. The great mass of slaves is driven down from considerable distances in the interior, to the chiefs or kings upon the coast, where they are kept in large receptacles, by thousands, where many of them perish. These places are known to the slavers in the vessels as they pass along the coast, who communicate by signals with the shore, and take off their cargoes.

It would therefore only be necessary to operate upon these nations on the coast. If they abandon the trade, the supply from the interior ceases.

There are several very interesting statements quoted in Sir T. Buxton's book from

the Governors of the British settlements on the coast, particularly those of Col. Nicholls and Governor Turner, shewing the ease with which arrangements can be made with those Chiefs for the abolition of the slave trade, and the introduction of lawful commerce. The concurring statements and opinions of Dr. Hall the Convention has heard. But the proof exhibited by the success that has attended all the attempts of this nature, made in the neighborhood of the civilized settlements on the coast, is conclusive. Thus, for several hundred miles of coast, the slave trade has ceased: and this change has been effected by treaties, and sometimes by the destruction of the factories and establishments of the foreign miscreants, the outcasts of all nations, engaged in every species of lawless violence and plunder.

The natives are now enjoying the advantages of this change, and the great and obvious improvement in their condition cannot fail to attract the attention of the adjacent population; and there is no reason to doubt that the whole Western coast may, by proper efforts, be soon delivered from this scourge, and made to exhibit the same improvement.

Under the influence of these encouraging prospects the British Government has already commenced this course of proceeding. Thus originated her expedition to explore the Niger, of the unfortunate failure of which, we have all heard.

We are now negotiating with her, on the subject of the suppression of the slave trade and discussing questions about the Right of Search. How it is to result, he, of course, could not pretend to conjecture. But one thing he could say, and appeal to British authority, of the most unquestionable character, to prove it—that it was a matter of little or no moment to the slave traders how it resulted. It would not sensibly affect their trade. It would do nothing with those that were not discovered; nor with those that, though discovered, could not be caught. And we all know that the trade is so managed as to provide well for both these ways of escape. It is moreover no new expedient. The British cruisers, for several years, have exercised it to a greater extent in relation to vessels under our flag, than it is now asked, and it has proved ineffectual.

We may then safely conclude that, whatever our Government may say to the application now pending, something far beyond any arrangement the two Governments may make upon this subject, must be done, if they desire to abolish the trade. Let them agree to do that, which all may now perceive, presents the sole hope of success, and they may well waive the discussion of all lesser topics: Let them unite in the determination to give *Commerce, Civilization, and Colonization* to Africa—wherever they shall present these, the demon they would destroy, will flee before them. Let a proper scheme be formed to accomplish this. Let the officers of our respective naval forces detached to execute this service, be instructed to act in concert—to visit the most extensive slave marts, convene the Kings and Chiefs before them, and let them know that these two nations have united their forces to abolish the trade. Let treaties of amity and commerce be thus formed along the coast, and all the facilities and inducements of commerce be opened between the natives and the people of both Governments, and with all the world. Thus, and thus only can the solemn pledge of England and America be redeemed, the rescue of Africa accomplished, and the cause of humanity, and the prosperity and honor of the world sustained as they ought to be.

To join in such a work as this no nation has inducements like ours. Our products and manufactures are particularly adapted to African commerce, and her articles of export most valuable to us. And we have facilities and advantages peculiarly our own, arising from the colored race among us, and presenting to them and to ourselves the prospect of incalculable benefit.

That unfortunate race has been treated among us with a humanity that might have been expected from those, who had not covetously sought them for gain, but been

compelled, reluctantly, and against their earnest protests, to receive them. They have not been worn down and wasted by hard bondage; as in other slave countries, where the slave trade is resorted to, to repair the losses thus occasioned. Their great increase, equal to that of any race any where, proves that they have been no victims of inhumanity. A great number of them have been liberated, and live among us, both in the slave and free States; under circumstances that must ever be unfavorable both to them and to us.

Let their fathers' land be opened to them. There is their home. They are the men eminently qualified to bear *Commerce, Civilization and Colonization*, to the land of their ancestors. Let them return to dispense there, the blessings they have received here—the arts of civilized life—the restraints of law and order—principles and habits of morality and industry—and above all, the great teacher and dispenser of all good, the Christian religion.—They are men, and they will feel the irresistible impulse to bear these blessings to the benighted brethren of their race. It is not in human nature to resist such an impulse, thus to exalt themselves and enlighten those to whom they are thus bound.

They are also, if not the only men, that can effect the redemption of Africa, certainly the best qualified to accomplish it. Providence seems to have decreed that Africa shall not be the white man's home. He, who "made of one blood all the nations of the earth," hath "assigned" also "the bounds of their habitation:" and Africa is reserved for her original race. They must be the settlers on her coasts, the adventurers to explore her mighty rivers and boundless forests. The late expedition to ascend the Niger cost nearly seventy thousand pounds, and many valuable lives. Who can doubt that such an adventure could have been made by our Colonists on the coast, or by our colored people here, at less than a tenth of the cost, and with no hazard of life? Let us then propose this scheme, and enter upon its execution with an energy and zeal proportioned to such inducements and facilities.

He now called the attention of the Convention to the only other subject embraced by the resolution.

The memorial is to present to the consideration of Congress, the Colonies now established on the African coast.

Here, it may be thought, we are introducing a subject of a more doubtful character. It may be asked what Congress can have to do with these colonies? Where our Government has no sovereignty or jurisdiction? Our constitution it will be said, gives no powers to the General Government to acquire or govern foreign territories. Foreign conquest and dominion were not objects intended to be authorized.

If it be admitted that our constitution does not permit the acquisition of territory, and assuming the government of it, on the coast of Africa, it would by no means follow that protection might not be afforded to settlements there established, for the purpose of accomplishing thereby any of the legitimate objects of Government. Our Government, like all others, may certainly be brought under the plainest obligations to extend its protection to a foreign territory, whenever the interests or safety of its own citizens, or its engagements with persons in such territory, may require it.—What the memorial is to request of the Representatives of the National Government is—not to assume the Government of these settlements—but to protect them: and this he would undertake to shew as plainly within the power of Congress, as the protection of commerce, or the suppression of the slave trade.

All agree that the commerce of the United States is, by our constitution, placed distinctly and exclusively under the control and protection of the General Government.

Our commerce then with these Colonies is to be protected—and if that branch of our commerce be sufficiently important to our citizens to justify it, doubtless the Colonies themselves may be lawfully protected from danger.

And if it shall be made to appear to Congress that the trade of American citizens on the coast of Africa deserves encouragement and requires protection, and that these friendly and civilized settlements on a barbarous coast are necessary to render such aid and relief to our citizens, so engaged, as may enable them to prosecute their trade safely and advantageously, it would follow as a plain matter of duty that our Government should sustain and protect them. That these Colonies did afford aid to the trade of our citizens, and that their support and protection were legitimate objects of the care and attention of the National Government, had been declared, and proved, and recognized on frequent occasions. Every trader to the coast knows this. Dr. Hall has shewn their great importance in this respect, and the many instances in which the vessels and lives of our citizens have been preserved by the relief they have afforded. And this is confirmed by our naval officers on the coast, the instructions they have received from our Government, and the duties they have been called to discharge. These all shew that, as friendly ports on a distant and inhospitable coast, their protection is essential to the protection of commerce.

Again, their preservation is essential to the prosecution of the other object mentioned in the resolution—the suppression of the slave trade. The power of Congress over that subject, as has been shewn, was never questioned. And if Congress may lawfully undertake measures for the suppression of that trade, and the colonies are necessary or important to make those measures successful, their preservation and protection are within the power of Congress.

That they are the most powerful auxiliaries in the war upon this vile trade is at once shewn by the fact that they have annihilated it everywhere within the reach of their influence. This shews that whenever lawful trade is brought within the reach of the natives, they will abandon the trade in slaves.

He referred to the answers of Dr. Hall, the reports of the African Institution in England, and of the American Colonization Society, and the work of Sir Thomas F. Buxton, to shew the extent of coast in the neighborhood of these African Colonies, now freed from the slave trade, and the happy effects they were producing by their influence and intercourse with the native tribes.

The same documents also to which he had already referred, the reports of our naval officers and the instructions under which they had cruised, shewed that these settlements have been always regarded as important stations for the aid and refreshment of our public and private vessels, and as exerting a beneficial influence in promoting lawful trade and suppressing the slave trade.

No higher claim need be offered to justify the protection now to be asked for them. But there is a higher claim. The faith of our government is pledged for their protection. To that pledge they owe their existence, and to its fulfilment hitherto, their present safety and prosperity.

It can be shown to Congress that their statute in 1819 for the prohibition of the slave trade, required that the Africans captured under its provisions should be removed to Africa. Its second section authorizes the President “to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color as may be so delivered and brought within their jurisdiction: and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of the United States armed vessels.” By this act \$100,000 was appropriated to carry it into effect.

The President, in the execution of the duties thus assigned to him, necessarily considered that the Africans thus to be kept, supported and removed or received on the

coast of Africa, were not to be left to perish, or again to be seized and transported, on a barbarous coast. He was authorized to appoint agents to receive them, and they and the agents were, of course, to be protected and supported. He therefore made the "regulations and arrangements" required by the act; and despatched agents, with proper means to assist them in the discharge of these duties, to reside upon the coast. They were sent there in a public ship, and directed "to select the most suitable place on the coast of Africa, to which all persons taken under the act should be delivered to them." All these regulations and the measures thus adopted by the President were communicated to Congress by him, in a special message, at the next session. At the same time the Secretary of the Navy communicated to Congress his instructions to the commanders of our armed vessels for the execution of this law; requiring them to deliver whatever Africans they might capture, to the agents on the coast. The place selected by the agents, was the territory then acquired on the coast by the American Colonization Society for the settlement of such free colored persons from our country as should be willing to emigrate. And a certain portion of the first colonists were engaged as assistants to these agents to enable them to support and protect the Africans to be delivered to them. In this manner all the regulations and measures adopted by the Executive in fulfilling the humane provisions of this law, were distinctly brought to the notice of Congress.

At the succeeding session the President's message again brought before Congress, the slave trade and the measures taken to enforce its prohibition. A memorial was also presented by the American Colonization Society, asking "the national countenance and assistance" to their object. It represented that there would be a "settlement of captured Africans upon the coast, in consequence of the measures already adopted," and that it was "evidently most important, if not necessary to such a settlement, that the civilized people of color, of this country, whose industry, enterprize, and knowledge of agriculture and the arts, would render them most useful assistants, should be connected with such an establishment." It stated further that a territory had been acquired, and that they were about to send out a Colony, and they called the attention of Congress to the important effects that might be expected from such establishments upon the slave trade. "That such points of settlement would diffuse their light around the coast, and gradually dispel the darkness which has so long enshrouded that continent, would be a reasonable hope, and would justify the attempt, even if experience had not ascertained its success. Although, therefore, much may be effected by the vigilant operations of a well disposed naval force, it is to be feared that much will always remain to be done, until some degree of civilization is attained by the inhabitants of the coast of Africa. The present measures, therefore, for the suppression of the slave trade, if unconnected with others for the improvements of the natives, must be long continued and the effects produced by them will be partial, tedious, and uncertain; and the least relaxation of this vigilance will revive it."

The subject, thus brought to the notice of the National Legislature, was referred to a committee, which, towards the close of the session, presented an able and interesting Report. This Report was accompanied with the resolution already referred to, recommending the slave trade to be made piracy, and subjecting it to the punishment of death. The Committee, speaking of the act of 1819, says—"the unavoidable consequence of this just and humane provision, is to require some preparation to be made for their temporary succor, on being relanded upon the African shore. And no preparation can prove so congenial to its own object, or so economical as regards the government charged with this charitable duty, as that which would be found in a Colony of the free people of color of the United States. Sustained by the recommendations of numerous Societies in every part of the United States, and the approving voice of the

legislative assemblies of several States, without inquiring into any other tendency of the object of the memorialists, your committee do not hesitate to pronounce it deserving of the countenance and support of the General Government."

They add, "of the Constitutional power of the General Government to grant the limited aid contemplated by the accompanying bill and resolutions, your committee presume there can exist no shadow of doubt; and they leave it to a period of greater national prosperity to determine, how far the authority of Congress, the resources of the National Government, and the welfare and happiness of the United States, will warrant, or require its extension. Your committee are solemnly enjoined, by the peculiar object of their trust, and invited by the suggestions of the memorialists, to inquire into the defects of the existing laws against the African slave trade. So long as it is in the power of the United States to provide additional restraints upon this odious traffick, they cannot be withheld, consistently with the justice and power of the nation."

Of the resolution appended to the report they say—"In proposing to the House of Representatives, to make such part of this offence as occurs upon the ocean, piracy, your committee are animated, not by the desire of manifesting the horror with which it is viewed by the American people; but, by the confident expectation of promoting, by their example, its more certain punishment by all nations, and its absolute and final extinction. May it not be believed, that when the whole civilized world shall have denounced the slave trade as piracy, it will become as unfrequent as any other species of that offence against the law of nations? Is it unreasonable to suppose, that negotiations will, with greater facility, introduce into that law, such a provision as is here proposed, when it shall have been already incorporated in the separate code of each State? The maritime powers of the Christian world have, at length, concurred in pronouncing sentence of condemnation against the traffick. The United States, having led the way in forming this decree, owe it to themselves, not to *follow* the rest of mankind in promoting its vigorous execution."

Such are the sanctions under which the lights have been kindled that now shine upon shores long darkened by the crimes of all nations. The humane policy of those measures has never been changed. Agents are still appointed. Cargoes of captured Africans have been received there, and they are now a portion of a civilized and prosperous community, reflecting honor upon the land under whose auspices they have been sent to dispense the blessings they have received to those that sit around them "in darkness and in the shadow of death."

How can this work of our own hands be abandoned? What our power and policy have thus planted, must be fenced round by our protection.

On every ground therefore of their own merit, and the support thus pledged to them, and as aids to commerce, and as allies against the slave trade, they must be sustained and protected. In truth these three great subjects are one and indivisible. African commerce calls for the destruction of the slave trade, and to destroy the slave trade you must foster African commerce, and African Colonization is the life of African commerce, and the death of the slave trade.

And such is the indissoluble connexion of these three great agents in this great work, that if the distinct claims of the colonies could be disregarded, our government in fulfilling its obligations to suppress the slave trade and encourage commerce, would incidentally and necessarily extend protection to the colonies. Indeed this incidental protection and assistance, properly applied, would give almost all the aid they require. The claims of commerce alone will demand the presence of a portion of our naval force, and the appointment of commercial agents as usual in other places, with proper powers to afford the facilities to trade, and protection to our vessels.

The same means will be necessary to act efficiently against the slave trade, and form treaties with other nations for its abolition.

These means, effectually applied, will constitute the chief defence required by the colonies. Some of them, perhaps, but recently established, are not yet sufficiently strong in numbers, to be entirely secure; and most of them may need an additional supply of arms. One measure now seeming to require attention, is that of negotiating with the natives for the safety and neutrality of these settlements. This interposition has been asked by the States of Virginia and Maryland; and Mr. Jefferson has long since expressed the opinion, when the application was made by Virginia, that such a measure was proper in itself, and could only be effected by the exercise of the powers vested in the General Government. This must necessarily be done by the authority of Congress.

Such, then, is the view which the resolution proposes to present to Congress of these subjects. He trusted it had been sufficiently shewn that none of them were even near the border of those limits which have been assigned to the powers of Congress.

He believed it would now appear that the time for decisive action was come—the time to renovate and re-people a wasted and woe-worn land—to drive away its cruel spoilers, and to introduce commerce, colonization and civilization, with all the virtues and blessings in their train.

The failures and disappointments of the past now show the path to success, and make it manifest that we need no longer waste our efforts in doubtful and uncertain measures. We know what is to be done, and how it is to be done.

We have undoubted facts to make out a clear and strong case for the action of our Government, on all the grounds on which it is to be claimed. Its power over the subject is proved and settled, the will to exert it cannot be found wanting in the representatives of the American people; and we may confidently hope that what our Government was the first to declare, it will be the foremost to execute.

In conclusion, he called upon the friends of that great cause, in whose behalf this Convention had assembled, to rejoice in its brightening prospects. African Colonization was about to receive a new impulse, to assume a new and commanding position among the means that are destined to remove a curse, and bestow a blessing upon mankind. United with commerce and civilization, giving and receiving strength by the association, she will go forth to certain conquest.

The colonization of Africa by its own free and civilized descendants, would seem, from its very nature and necessary consequences, to be the chosen and fitted instrument for her deliverance. And now experience has proved that it is so. Of all the instruments put in use to effect the purpose, this is the only one that has never failed to produce results commensurate with the extent of its application.

He had never doubted its success. From its origin, when first proposed by the venerated Finley, to the present time, in its darkest day he had never doubted. It originated in Christian hope and benevolence, and had the favor of Heaven; and that favor had been manifested in all its course. Christians and patriots came around it. And though many of them had since been called away from their earthly labors, Christians and patriots were still around it; and this Convention had the gratification of seeing that, under the impulse of the feelings which had called it into existence, there were still American statesmen, ready and able to maintain it.

And what, (he asked) were the triumphs to which it aspired? If the extinction of the slave trade was to be its only trophy, who could estimate the amount of human guilt and suffering that would be thus prevented? If but one tribe of helpless creatures could be thus delivered—one den of slaughter and pollution broken up—the victims of a single slave ship rescued (and victories like these Colonization had already achieved,

and was now daily achieving) who would regret that the labor of his life had been devoted to such a cause?

But what should be our zeal and energy when we know that the monstrous iniquity against which we are engaging, demands and receives annually half a million of our fellow creatures as its victims!—victims to a fate far more tremendous than death.

If it was even only death, think what death must be in the hold of a slave ship! Where else was ever such a bed of torture prepared by man for man? It is a sad and fearful thing to die under all the circumstances of alleviation that can be brought around us. When the bed is smoothed by the hand of affection, when the cooling draft and the refreshing breeze, and the gentle words, and ministry of sympathizing friends, soften the pains of dissolution. But when the body is in chains and the heart in agony, where there is none to pity or to help, none present but demons and their victims—where the living and the dying and the dead, are crushed together in one loathsome mass of anguish and pollution, it is terrible to die.

It is still more terrible to live—to live through all these horrors—and to come forth a breathing skeleton of despair, and put on the iron yoke of wasting bondage.

Who can be unconcerned, and know that things like these are done and doing upon the earth we inhabit? That it presents, as it revolves, this foul and bloody blot to the eye of Heaven, calling for the lightning of the Almighty to consume the work which he had blessed, and man hath cursed! All—all are guilty in his sight—not only those who *perpetrate*, but those who *permit* the outrage.

Let then all—all people and all nations of the earth rise in the majesty of human nature, and with united voice proclaim throughout the world that this enormity shall cease—and let them never rest till by their united arms, it shall be accomplished.—Let all join in a work of mercy that shall appease the wrath of Heaven, and win the smiles of angels. Let the ocean no longer bear away from Africa her wretched people, but return her outcasts, free, civilized, and rejoicing.

This work will be done—the voice of inspiration has proclaimed it, and fulfilling prophecies around us show that the dawning of this day of brightness is at hand. “Ethiopia is stretching forth the hand.” “Her solitary places shall be glad.” “Her wildernesses shall blossom as the rose.”

Yes, the Colonization of the colored race on the land of their fathers is no longer a theory, a scheme, an experiment, but a fact, a work in progress—and it will go on. A great nation has resolved it—patriotism commands it—benevolence urges it—religion impels it—and it will go on.

A free and happy land, rejoicing in the best gifts of Heaven, will make this grateful offering to the Great Giver of its blessings—will stretch forth the hand of love and mercy to an outcast and down-trodden race, and lead them to their home. Africa will take to her bleeding bosom her long lost children; and they shall wipe away her tears of agony—break off all her chains—enlighten all her darkness, and the days of her abasement shall be ended.

Where can human hearts be found insensible to such a work? The whole world may well be called upon, to make that which redounds to the honor and happiness of the world, the business of the world.

But this call must be most loud and effectual where this ill-fated race is found; and found in such circumstances that its removal is indispensable to its enjoyment of freedom and happiness, and essential to the interests of those from whom they remove.

The call is to our country.

He trusted she would nobly answer it.

He thought he valued, as he ought, her deeds of patriotism and valor, the triumphs achieved by her flag. But when that standard flings forth its folds over the destitute

and abandoned ; when it calls together the outcasts of a dark and distant land, guides them to a happy heritage, and there waves over them, their pride and their protection ; then are its stars a constellation of glory ; then does it achieve a higher triumph than its proudest battle fields have won.

This is the boon that he would ask for his country—not the renown that arms or arts can give, but a name and example that should enlighten and animate the world, by being active and eminent in a work of mercy—that she should show her gratitude to Heaven for the blessings she has received, by the blessings she bestows—and secure the protection of Heaven by fulfilling its high behests in sending forth its light to those who are in darkness. He did covet for his native land the honor of repairing the wrongs, and re-peopling the desolations of injured Africa, and restoring her to a place among the nations of the earth. Thus making a great continent, redeemed and enlightened by her labors, a living monument to her praise.

The resolution was adopted.

The honorable C. F. Mercer seconded this resolution.

Mr. Mercer then rose and alluded to the early days of the Society and to the transactions connected with its origin, in which the gentleman near him, (Mr. Key,) and one lamented individual, (the late Elias B. Caldwell,) and himself had been especially concerned. He spoke of the first movements in Congress for the cause, and especially of the passage of the law denouncing the slave trade as piracy, and of the act by which the recaptured Africans had been brought under the protection of the general government, and due provision made for their restoration to Africa ; of the benefit mutually secured by the Government and the Colonization Society, by acting in concert at the time the colony of Liberia was founded, and of the obligation of the national legislature to extend its protecting care to colonies that had sprung into being under its auspices, and without the existence of which, it had been well nigh impossible to carry out the humane provisions of Congress for the benefit of the recaptured Africans. We cannot give even a sketch of this speech.

The resolution was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Key, the following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to prepare and present the memorial contemplated in the resolution to the Congress of the United States:—Messrs. Key, Whittlesey, Gurley, Lindsly and Ellsworth.

On motion of Mr. Whittlesey it was

“ *Resolved*, That a Committee or Committees be appointed to solicit donations to the cause both from our citizens and members of both Houses of Congress.”

The appointment of this Committee or of these Committees was left with the President of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Gurley it was

“ *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the honorable Joseph R. Underwood, for the very able and dignified manner in which he has presided over the proceedings of this meeting, and especially

for the large sacrifices of time, which amid many arduous duties, he has cheerfully made to the cause."

Mr. Underwood expressed his increasing concern to advance the interests of African Colonization as the great hope for our Union and for Africa, and his determination to advocate all proper measures for its furtherance in the councils of the nation.

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

[It seems proper to insert here, the following appeal of the Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, as it comprises the facts and observations made by that gentleman, during the session of the Convention, and particularly those submitted by him with great effect, at the religious meeting, on Sunday evening, called by authority of the Convention, and before its final adjournment.]

AN APPEAL

To the friends of the Colonization Society, being the substance of a statement of facts presented at a public meeting held in the First Presbyterian Church, sabbath evening, May 8th, 1842. By H. L. Ellsworth, one of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society.

MY FRIENDS—I come before you as one of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society. My heart is too deeply oppressed with the difficulties which embarrass us, too full of anxiety for apology. I come not as a beggar; I come to make a simple statement of facts; to ask you to share in our responsibility, and decide what is to be done. It has already been mentioned that 200 emigrants are urging their way to their native land, and are soon to be arrested only by the broad ocean which separates them from Africa. You may perhaps ask, Why have the Executive Committee permitted such an occurrence, a conscription, as it were, on the charity of the community?

In reply let me say, that your Committee could not, and if they could they would not dare prevent it. You yourselves would not have done so, unless I am greatly wrong in my estimate of your hearts; and when you hear the facts I shall lay before you, I trust you will excuse us from all blame.

Look then at the position of the Committee. We are only the executive instruments of your will to carry out your benevolent and humane purposes. Twenty years ago the Colonization Society was established with the concurrent approbation of the General Government, the State Governments, patriots throughout the land, and with the prayers of the most devoted and ardent Christians. The wants of the Government for an asylum for re-captured Africans; the wishes and the hopes of emancipated slaves in this country; the desire of the States to free themselves from the dangers arising from two classes of colored men, one in bondage and the other free; a sympathy for poor Africa herself oppressed by the horrors of the slave trade, and a stranger to the God of Heaven—all these combined to establish this Society. It was done, and the hopes of many brightened. A little band was planted on the inhospitable shores of a barbarous coast, now called by the delightful appellation of Liberia. From the founding of the Colony until the present moment, the efforts of the So-

cieté have been directed to *encourage* the free people of color to remove hence to that Colony—for it was never designed to use any compulsion—and also to procure funds to defray the necessary expenses. Embarrassments, as you are aware, have arisen, and the way has often times been hemmed up. The little Colony has, however, been mercifully preserved, and both master and servant have been assured of our willingness and desire to gratify their wishes. Nay further, bequests have been made to the Society; the dying charge of several persons are on its records. In most of the cases freedom is given only on condition of emigrating to Africa. The fears of some, that emigrants could not be found, has thus been removed. A new era has arrived; our mails are crowded with applications to your Committee; a mighty torrent has burst forth. They come at *your* bidding, and wait your direction. They come with a joyful heart, hoping soon to see their fatherland; they come with a longing desire to embark under your kind patronage. Yes! onward they come; they seem to be messengers of peace and salvation to a benighted region of the world. Will you stay them in their homeward passage?

Night after night, my friends, your Committee meet to hear their supplications. I assure you that the festivities which many appear to enjoy have no charms for me. I know I cannot do much; but whatever punctuality and unremitting services, however humble, can do is already most willingly consecrated to this cause. And now look at the situation of your Committee. They must feel—they *do* feel for the woes of others who beg relief. But we cannot work miracles; we can only use human means. What appeal can we make that will prove effectual?

If there is an object of sympathy in this wide world, it is the African, torn from his native land, separated from all that he loved, transferred amid the horrors of a gloomy passage in a slave ship to a foreign shore, and there held to bondage; and who at last for his honest servitude is offered his freedom or who by untiring labor has bought himself, and now makes his single, humble, suppliant request to be permitted and aided to return home to die. If he is poor, it is not because he is indolent: his task was done, his duty performed; his hard earnings have been for his master; and he is penniless because he spent his all to become free. Read his joy, that the happy time has arrived when he no longer wears the yoke of bondage. O happy thought! what bright anticipations now fill his heart. He tells us that he is ready to embark, and inquires, how soon will a ship sail for Africa? What is our reply? We direct the Secretary to inform him that we deeply sympathize in his disappointment, but we cannot send him—we have no funds. Such, my friends, is our daily reply to pressing applications; and what do we get in return? Expressions of regret, disappointment and despair. The freedom purchased or bestowed is held only on condition of removal within a definite time. Sad thought! upon this contingency rests the question of his return to bondage for the remainder of life! Poor and friendless they come to us—what can we do? Can we go on and incur obligations which we have no present means of discharging? Yes, my friends, we have done so; we could not resist such appeals. Humanity cries aloud—he has served long enough. We encourage him to hope for relief, and we try to raise some means for his aid.

There is another appeal to us as Christians. It comes from a native African. He shows the scars which his manacles have made and which

time cannot efface. He tells his story of woe, yet murmurs not. It is God who has permitted it. He bows to his condition; he rejoices at the goodness of One who, he hopes, has redeemed him from a bondage worse than that of slavery—the bondage of sin. No revengeful word is on his lips; he says that the grave will be the common master for us all without distinction, and that we shall arise alike to a glorious immortality. He asks not for lands or for money; he sees how poor Africa is situated—poor, heathen Africa; he feels the dying injunction of his Heavenly master, “Go preach my Gospel to every creature.” He tells us that the white man soon dies on the shores of Africa, but God has given him a constitution tempered for that clime. His prayer to us—the earnest pleadings of his heart is, “Let me go to proclaim to millions in darkness and in the shadow of death the goodness and mercy of my God.” To such an appeal what can we reply? We ask you, my friends, shall we shut up our bowels of compassion, tell him we have no means—we can raise none, and compel him to remain forever in servitude here, cheered only by the brighter promise of a future world, with the sole privilege, which, thank God! no fetters or bondage can take away or restrain, a secret prayer for his native land?

You may perhaps say, Can such things be? Permit me in reply to read you a single letter selected from many of a similar character.

“GALLATIN COUNTY, CYPRESSVILLE, ILLINOIS,

“September 19, 1841.

“S. WILKESON, ESQ.—SIR:—Yours of the 21st Aug. has come to hand. We calculated to pay our passage by the assistance of Mr. Fagg, one of the agents for the Society, but he has failed to assist us. There are 18 of us that will go, and we are utterly unable to pay our passage. The 18 consist of 3 families, myself and wife and 4 children, Rufus Jacobs, his wife and 4 children, Redic B. Smith and 1 child, my wife's sister, Malina Porter, a single woman, Jerome Crofuld, a single man, Joseph Allen, a single man, and an old man, a native of Africa, named John. We all wish to go to Liberia, and are not able to pay our passage. If the Society can send us, we are willing to refund the amount in labor or produce when we are able.

“We are ready to start from Shawneetown at any moment, and wish the time to come as soon as possible; for though we are free in name we are not free in fact.—We are in as bad, or worse condition than the slaves of which you speak, being compelled to leave the State, or give security, and those of the whites who would befriend us are debarred by the fear of public opinion. If only those who deserve such treatment, if any do, were the only ones to suffer we should be content; but on the contrary if one misbehaves, all the colored people in the neighborhood are the sufferers, and that frequently by unlawful means; dragged from our beds at the hour of midnight, *stripped naked*, in presence of our *children* and wives, by a set of men alike lost to mercy decency and Christianity, and flogged till they are satisfied, before we know for what; and when we are informed, it is the probably the first time we heard of the offence. Such is our situation and such the condition from which your Society can extricate us. We deem it worse than slavery. We say again we wish to go to Liberia, and if no way else is provided, we had as lief soon *indent* ourselves to the Society for *life* for our passage, so we can live among our own color.

Let me know as soon as possible, whether you can help us, and how soon, and how much. Times are so hard here, that property will not bring half its value. We have disposed of what little we had, with the calculation that Mr. Fagg would assist us: perhaps if you would stimulate him to help us, it would be some advantage. We want to know what assistance your Society will give us, after we get there.

"Yours, respectfully,

"MARVILL H. SMITH."

Here, my friends, you see is the case of 18 persons. They have been emancipated; they were obliged to leave the State in which they served, and where could they go? They sought a temporary resting place, an asylum in a free state. How have they been persecuted! The emigrant tells you his simple and affecting story of wrong and outrage. Among these you will notice is a native African, who in his old age has obtained his freedom and ardently desires to see Africa once more before he dies.—Perchance some that he knew and loved, he may find yet spared from the clutches of the ruthless gang that tore him away. And now what could we reply to this letter? Must we dash to the earth their present hopes? We were compelled to do it. We said, for the present, no. Emigrants were crowding upon us; old debts, not large indeed, but imperative, urged for payment. We did indeed encourage them to hope for relief at some future time, we could not tell when or how. And when they found their condition there worse than slavery or death itself, and heard of the possibility of a passage to Africa from New Orleans, though we had told them to wait till further notice, they gathered their little all and jumped into a boat bound for that city. Will you, can you blame them for it? Alas! when they reached New Orleans no vessel was there; our expected expedition failed. These poor dependent creatures then cast themselves in their misery upon the friends of the Colonization Society; they have been transported to Norfolk and there they wait in anxious hope to sail soon for Africa. It remains for you my friends to say whether they shall go.

I will mention further, that our agent in Tennessee, was expressly informed by us, that we had no means to transport emigrants and none must come to Norfolk except such as were provided with funds to meet all their expenses. But the spirit of emigration that has been aroused cannot be repressed, and a few days since we received a letter informing us that 86 were on their way. Some of them had money and some had not; some had horses and wagons, others were coming on foot; their little all, whatever it might be, was to be disposed of when they reached Norfolk. There they remain with fond hopes and ardent aspirations for their native land. They possess good characters; some are artisans, some agriculturists, some are prepared to be teachers and a few to preach the Gospel. Among them are the friends and relations of that valuable and heroic citizen of Liberia, Zion Harris, who is now in this country pleading the cause of the Colony. The death of the Rev. Mr. Erskine, his father-in-law was an affecting incident. Willing and ready to die he left one request, that his son would, should providence permit, once visit Tennessee and bring to Africa the surviving relatives left behind, so far as they could be obtained. God has prospered the errand of love and mercy. By the kindness of their masters, the assistance of friends and his persuasion, Harris returns to Africa with thirteen of his kindred. What shall we

say to them my friends? Shall they spend their little all to return again to bondage? You must decide.

And, my Christian friends, there is a company of 8 Africans from the Osage Mission on the confines of civilization in the far West. They come with hearts warm and glowing from that altar where many a morning and evening sacrifice has been offered up for poor Africa; they come to beg a passage, as it were, in the name of their divine master. May I say, that I shall never forget that devoted mission station. It was there where many years since I met those who now ask our aid. It was there that the wild Indians whom I had brought from near the foot of the Rocky Mountains first saw how the white man was taught to read and write; there for the first time they heard in a Christian assembly of the white man's God, and there they implored those blessings from their great father (the President) which the African now asks for his native land. We had traveled many hundred miles together; sickness and other trials had endeared us to each other. The time of the final separation had come: I was to go where the sun rises; they to the place where it sets. Believing as they do, that the truth is not spoken when the sun does not shine on the heart, the farewell was postponed for a clear sky. They met in a crowded group, threw off the buffalo robes, their homely covering, and one of their number thus addressed me: "My Grandfather, the sky is clear. The great spirit sees me, the earth on which I stand hears me; the truth is spoken. You have brought us to see our enemies, (the Delawares) we have feasted on the white man's heart; we have made peace and smoked together; the hatchet and the knife that was sharpened for scalps, shall now be buried deep in the ground, and the weeds shall grow over them. You come from the big waters and return again. You will see our great father. Tell him we are his children; we are poor, the buffaloes are fast disappearing and the white men are catching our beavers; we cannot raise corn, we have no tools, ask him to remember us and to help us; tell him, my grandfather, that the prairie hen puts her wings over her chickens and broods them; ask him to put his wings over us." Pardon me this digression. The association of the event with the Osage Mission station and the similarity of the wild Indian's plea to that of the poor African was such I could scarcely avoid it. I return then to the colored family from this Mission. Your Committee was forced to refuse them a passage unless means were provided; some contributions were made to reimburse, in part, the expense, and they have now come for a passage. Shall *they* go? You will decide.

Another case of thrilling interest is that of a father who has struggled on through life, and, having obtained his own emancipation has purchased six of his children; and only waits till he can redeem two more. His sole hope and desire is to return to Africa. What will you say with regard to him?

Let me mention one case more; It is that of the humane and liberal McDonough of New Orleans, a name long to be endeared to Liberia. He offered your Committee eighty slaves—persons of good character, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, ship-builders, sugar makers, agriculturists, &c. He desired to teach them and fit them for their mission to their kindred friends; he applied to the Legislature for permission to instruct them, but knowledge is power, and cannot be entrusted to the slave; and the request was denied. Ask them, however, to read and they will do so; ask them

to write and they understand this also. Inquire not further; some of them are competent to teach schools; many of them are professing Christians. Connected with this number are two others who are now pursuing their theological studies in Pennsylvania, preparatory to their departure for Africa. One of them will go soon; the other when he completes his studies, and has made himself master of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic languages; in some of which he has already made great proficiency. O, how these emigrants will gladden the hearts of the desponding Colony of Liberia. What could we say to them? Should we say that we could not let *them* go? We have bidden them come; we have committed their case and all the other cases to God; we have chartered a ship to take them to their desired port amidst a thousand aspirations which neither you nor I can feel. Such are the claims which the colored men in our own country themselves prefer.

I ask now your consideration of the claims of our little Colony. By every arrival from there we learn her wants and her trials. Surrounded by a savage foe who are goaded on by infuriated slave traders, because for three hundred miles their path is blocked up; without vessels for transportation, if her people were disposed to flee from their numerous assailants, we may well wonder and ask, How has she been preserved? Many have been the conflicts of her children, and where has bravery been better exhibited? Those who have fallen have died like freemen, who were once slaves and preferred death to a second bondage. This Colony has been planted by the the General Government of the country, with the aid of the several States, and of individuals. Little did those who first embarked under your kind auspices ever think they would be thus forgotten; much less that they would be abandoned. But, my friends, what is their condition; they are in want, they need many things. They need houses, and how can these houses be erected? No saw mills are provided, though water-power and timber are both convenient. Even now your Committee are shipping lumber by every opportunity across the ocean to make them comfortable and to provide accommodations for new emigrants. This is done at a great expense; but we have no means with which to erect mills. Your Colony, too, needs arms and munitions of war. Their condition is hard indeed; exposed and defenceless, they ask us to send them some guns. We have no means; we have entreated the community in their behalf, but almost in vain; little has lately been given to increase our funds. We have tried to purchase these necessities, but we have no credit, and our name, alas! is dishonored. We have tried to beg, but without success. As a last resort we have borrowed for a time two mounted guns and a few small arms; not however, without a sacred pledge on our part to return them when demanded. The arsenal and magazines of our happy country are crowded with munitions of war. Why is it, that this Colony, which does so much to ameliorate the condition of men, and to suppress the slave trade, cannot be gratified in so reasonable a request? All they ask is little; but this little would make them rich indeed, and ourselves no poorer.

Look at Liberia, my friends; what was it? The favorite mart of the slave dealer; the paths of the captives yet remain well trodden; the shores have long been bleached by the bones of human beings who perished there while waiting the arrival of cruel masters. Yet all has become changed. Yes, my friends, it is a fact, that where the slave factories once

stood are now seen no less than eighteen churches consecrated to almighty God. Where pens were erected to confine the unhappy victims, you may now find schools and seminaries of learning, surrounded by highly cultivated fields, and loaded with the most luxuriant vegetation. Nature there is prolific: in no part of the world can the wants of man be more easily satisfied. The climate is mild and there are no winters; the earth yields most abundantly coffee, rice, cotton, sugar, maize or Indian corn, wheat and vegetables without number; the forests are filled with palm from which oil is obtained in vast quantities. Camwood too, abounds, with a variety of other dyewoods and spices; the annual exports now exceed \$100,000; and were the Colony fostered by our Government, how extensive a trade might be established, should roads be opened into the interior which has already been explored for 160 miles. Populous villages are sometimes found; one of them containing not less than 5,000 persons, on a single peak, picketted in by rude slabs. I pray that the time may come when the Committee will be able to extend to the willing natives some facilities of intercourse. At present the objects of trade are transported only on the backs of men. Need I tell you how much the Colony has already done; how much it has cheered and supported the tribes most contiguous to the settlement? You will find the native children in every school, learning with astonishing rapidity, destined soon to teach others and carry the Gospel far into the interior. Every day the belief is extending that this little Colony is established for the good of Africa. The natives say, that there is some great and good being that watches over and protects it; or else before this it would have fallen. Yes, the poor trembling African flees to your little Colony for protection. But lately a vessel hove in sight beyond the confines of our territory; the slave dealer's placard was hoisted. "A cargo of able bodied men wanted; the highest price will be given." Till then a momentary respite had existed, and peace—if it deserves the name, amidst such anxiety as they daily feel—prevailed. But cupidity and avarice commenced their work; kidnappers loaded with arms started off; and oh the misery which followed in their train; a few captives were obtained; many however, preferred death.—The chief of one nearly desolated tribe fled with three hundred of his band; they ran to our Colony for relief. Their pursuers were obliged to halt in deep disappointment. And O, how great was the joy and gratitude of the chief and his friends. They have returned to tell of the kindness and humanity of Liberia. Eight chiefs came also "to make a book"—a treaty,—offering to give up traffic in slaves entirely, and aid the Colony in suppressing it. Is not this Colony entitled to your sympathy and assistance?

A few days since some messengers came here from the Colony to represent their griefs, and enquire what could be done. Let me say, that I have had much conversation with these men. Among the most intelligent of them was Judge Benedict—a judge of their superior court, a good lawyer and a sound practical man. I shall never forget the interview. He told me, that the colonists were strongly attached to their republic and grateful for the favors it had received. But the time had now arrived when their hopes were expiring; little was done for them; other colonies of the French and English fared much better and found more assistance and protection. Our colony seemed almost abandoned. He asked me in confidence, if something more could not be done. He appealed to me as a

brother Christian to tell him plainly; and he said that of one thing there was a certainty, that unless something was done speedily, other protection would be secured. It had been offered; and could we, my friends, blame them if they accepted it? He ardently hoped, that Liberia might be preserved as an asylum for his kindred here, and that the benevolent objects so long cherished for a final redemption of the colored race now in the United States, would not be frustrated. And what could I say? He told me that he wanted a frank answer. If no aid could be given, it was due to those who had been so long disappointed, to be informed of it. I told him not to despair, but to return to his friends and say to them, that the Committee would do all they could for them. He has returned, cheered by the encouragement given; and I now appear before you to fulfil my pledge, and appeal to your sympathies in their behalf. And I tell you, my friends, believe me when I say it, that if something more is not speedily done, the Colony will assuredly be lost to us; and much as I believe that this Colony is the last hope of alleviation or remedy for the evils which we so bitterly experience, and more especially for those which threaten us, I should justify them in their sad farewell. They are men; the ties of friendship and obligation are acknowledged; still self-preservation is with all, the first law of nature. Your Committee have endeavored to cheer and animate the colored man and prepare him for the station to which providence seems about to call him—the government of a free republic on the shores of Africa. Death has seized on its early prey; most of the white men who have had the management of a colony in Liberia—Ashmun, Buchanan and many others have fallen; their labors were quickly over. They toiled hard and sought to accomplish much; they have done much; but they have gone to a better world. They have left a dying request that we should remember their much loved colony of Liberia. On a leaf in Buchanan's diary is found recorded his confidence and belief when he went forth—"God who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, can fit my constitution to a tropical climate; 'but though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.' " Shall this colony be abandoned? If the prayers of emancipated Africans or the prayer of the colony are insufficient to rouse us to effort, let me present to the patriot the hope of this country; our happy Union.

The time has come when many good men doubt our continuance as an undivided people much longer. The tocsin is already sounded for dissolution. We may desire to avoid the contemplation of the dangers which threaten us, but encounter them we must. The progress of civilization is onward; the light of liberty and emancipation has been steady and unceasing; more than half of the States have abolished slavery or laid the foundation for complete emancipation. Slavery has been, it is, and ever will be, considered by all, with few exceptions, a dreadful evil. The sage of Monticello, the apostle of liberty, with his compatriots, Madison, Marshall and Monroe, and many others have already spoken. I need not quote passages from their writings in evidence of their views. And for this evil, what is to be the remedy? None has been offered at all adequate, that does not include colonization, and without it emancipation it is believed by many, would prove a curse alike to the slave States themselves and to those States where entire freedom prevails. Two races of men so distinct cannot flourish together. I speak of it as a fact. If the poor Indians, our red brethren, proprietors of the soil, could not remain in the

midst of us, how much less encouragement is there to expect a permanent residence with equal privileges for the more degraded slave. To force upon the Southern States a free colored population cannot be done; the north need not expect it. Nor do the Northern States desire the free people of color to become citizens with them. No, my friends, no! We do not want them; we abhor amalgamation; we deplore the commixture. We desire not our youth to grow up amid the many temptations to vice which such a population offers. Should emancipation become general without colonization; were thousands and hundreds of thousands of slaves set free, scattered over our land, filling the outskirts of our villages, degraded and degrading others, marked by God as a distinct race with no adequate human motives for elevation, they would be a prey upon the community. We judge from facts. I allow, indeed, there are honorable individual exceptions; but human nature remains unchanged. Were emancipation without colonization to become general, our prisons, our jails, our alms-houses must all be enlarged or built anew; our present security would be gone; we, too, must fortify ourselves. Talk not then of a general emancipation without colonization.

I was most happy to hear our friend and early benefactor in the cause from Maryland (Francis S. Key, Esq.) declare what were the true interests of Maryland. "Where" said he "the slave population on the northern boundaries, of the State have nearly disappeared, a dense population of white men has come in; and the land has trebled in value." Let each State then have time to pause, reflect and legislate, without foreign coercion or intimidation. Let not the North indulge in crimination. It is their vessels which have transported the slave to their bondage. Well has the honorable senator from Virginia (Mr. Rives) told us how earnestly his State struggled to avert the evils she now realizes—how ardently she supplicated the mother country, England, while a colony, to prohibit the importation of slaves, but England refused; and Virginia had no alternative. It was among those of her grievances first alledged which led to revolt and to independence. How eloquently, too, the honorable senator from Kentucky (Gov. Morehead) depicted the dangers and difficulties arising from slavery, and pointed to the only remedy—emancipation with colonization. And let me include also, the most worthy gentleman from the same State, (Mr. Underwood) who presided over our deliberations, whose heart is never closed against the sufferings of humanity, let it come in what shape it will. The example of the prosperity of the free States is argument enough, and will assuredly operate. If the Queen of the West, as Ohio is fitly termed, is rising in majesty and grandeur, and filling up with a dense population, let it be remembered by those who are separated only by the beautiful waters of the Ohio, that no physical causes operate to create the difference between them. Kentucky, with a milder climate, and a soil unsurpassed in fertility might be, would be, the preferred dwelling place to many emigrants in search of a better home. The census tells the whole story, and how powerful is its testimony. Leave, then, these facts for statesmen to ponder, let them be pondered and all will soon be done. Colonization, to accompany emancipation, is in my opinion the only remedy.

Am I asked, Is it practicable? Then I ask in reply, Why not? The number of the slave population, and the impossibility of transporting them across the ocean is urged as an answer to this. I reply, we look to Liberia

as located on the shores at an immense distance from us. But what is the fact? We look to England as merely a pleasant sail; the distance is not regarded; a passage is made in twelve or fourteen days and tens of thousands pass back and forth continually. How much farther off is Liberia? But about five hundred miles my friends; if you doubt it, examine the chart and you will be satisfied. Are you incredulous as to the fact? it may be removed most easily.

But how, you ask, shall the emancipated be transported? This is a serious question. The transportation is practicable. The commerce of Africa is daily increasing; there are no limits to the products of her soil; she grows what all nations want; soon a trade will be opened to the interior; an extensive market will there be furnished for our manufactures in exchange for her commodities. How strong, then, is the appeal to the friends of commerce, for a continent of 50,000,000 of inhabitants, a large proportion of whom will become consumers. Although the United States have never sought to plant colonies for the extension of our commerce, still if these blessings flow from the philanthropy, or I may say even necessity of establishing this colony it is certainly a most happy incident. I would then establish regular lines of packets, from New Orleans, Savannah, Charleston, Norfolk, and Baltimore to sail every month. I would freight them with emigrants and merchandize, and bring back the products of Africa; and at all times it would be easy to secure a return cargo of salt at the Cape de Verd Islands. Such a commerce might soon support itself. But suppose it did not; could we not hope for assistance from the States and the General Government? Is it so, that millions of acres of new land are given for roads and canals, and if a nation's perpetuity is at stake, if the happiness of millions of bondmen are suspended on the enterprise, if the happiness and welfare of the States themselves are so intimately connected with this object, are we not to expect and claim a pittance which would make the rich no poorer and the poor rich indeed? If constitutional objections are raised, let the constitution be amended to meet the emergency—all would give a hearty assent. Your Committee now find one of their greatest embarrassments from the uncertainty of procuring a passage for emigrants. Very many would emancipate their slaves if there was a certainty of their immediate removal from this country. Emancipation is thus often delayed till the death of the owner, when large plantations including slaves are thrown into litigation. Disappointed heirs contest every point; already do we find estates bequeathed to the Society, in the single State of Mississippi exceeding by former appraisement over \$200,000. Judgment has been obtained, but nothing has finally been accomplished, and the benevolent object of the testator as yet is wholly thwarted. It cannot be doubted, that if regular passages could be furnished, more emigrants would be offered than could be immediately taken.

It is said, that the climate of Liberia is sickly? I have my friends, carefully examined this point. I have visited many parts of Europe and this country, and found the same causes operating alike every where. Many of the ports in the West Indies are called the graves of foreigners; the same is said of New Orleans, while the high lands in the neighborhood of the sickly parts are healthy. What is Liberia? On the coast where the unparalleled exuberance of soil produces malaria, sickness is indeed often found. Happily, however, the beautiful hills, not a day's travel back from the coast are healthy and furnish locations for any number of settlers.

It is here especially where the African finds health and old age. How many, too, of the first settlers of this country, now grown into a great nation were swept off by disease and the inclemency of the seasons! Did this cause them to relinquish their enterprise? Let not then this objection be further raised.

But will the people of color among us be willing to emigrate? What, I ask, is the burden of their request? You have heard them petition; many such entreaties may be found on our files; the Committee cannot meet the present emergency. We believe that ten thousand would soon be offered if you would provide for them. What! will not Africans return to their native land? Will not those who now find so little sympathy, and who can never here rise to an equality, embrace the offer, when they know that they must remain a degraded race if they continue here? Will they not emigrate and bless the benefactors who shall speed them on their happy way? Make, my friends, the Colony what it may be; offer a home where the emancipated slave may breathe a freer air, and will he choose to remain longer among us? No, indeed! What Douglass has so beautifully said of his countrymen who press to these happy shores, may well be applied to this exiled race, in reference to Africa: "America," says he, "is to modern Europe what the Western Isles were to ancient Greece—the land of aspirations and dreams, the country of daring enterprise and the asylum of misfortune, which receives alike the exile and the adventurer—the discontented and the aspiring, and promises all a freer life and fresher nature. Hordes of emigrants are continually swarming off as ceaseless in the pursuit, and crowded and unreturning as travelers to eternity. Even those who are forced to remain behind feel a melancholy restlessness like a bird whose wing is crippled at the time of migration, and look forward to America as the land of the departed, where every one has some near relative or dear friend who has gone before him. A voice like that heard before the final ruin of Jerusalem seems to whisper to those who have ears to hear, 'Let us depart hence.'" May I add the testimony of one who is deeply affected by the prospect of the African in our land. He is an old navigator; many a time has he doubled the Cape of Good Hope. He believes the proposed scheme of Colonization a practical remedy for all our evils. And though he now enjoys a good situation, and home is endeared to him by the strongest ties, yet he would embark in this glorious cause, and take command of a packet for Liberia, such as has been mentioned. There is then hope amounting even to assurance. Let us not despair; but take courage.

But lately, a reverend clergyman now employed to teach 300 slaves, related to me the following incident, illustrative of the power of conscience over the slave-holder: The master is a benevolent man, but is a disbeliever in Christianity, and he said, "I doubt as to future existence, I may, however, be mistaken, and if so what a dreadful load of responsibility rests on me. These immortal beings, in that case, are destined with myself to a long eternity; all the preparation that can be made must be made here. I will not, I dare not, refuse to teach my slaves the doctrines of the Christian religion as you understand it. Come then and teach them religion, and if you are engaged on the Sabbath come on any day of the week. Take, if you choose, the best day and the best hours." Most of these slaves, I trust, will soon find a home in Liberia.

The question perhaps will here be asked, Are Africans capable of self-gov-

ernment based upon the republican principle? To this I reply, moral not physical causes make the great distinctions of society among a homogeneous population. All are made in the image of God, and fitted to be temples for the Holy Spirit to dwell in. Color or complexion has little to do with the elevation of the human mind, unless the subject is placed under unpropitious influences, is degraded by his station, and checked in all his hopes of advancement.

Look for example at our red brethren. While surrounded here by white men who are educated in the arts and sciences, claiming and exercising a superiority, how degraded does the Indian appear! His hopes all stifled, he seeks sensual gratification only. But look at him in his new home at the West. There he becomes instantly and truly a man; the powers and emoluments of office are his, and his alone. Property is protected and brings influence; he rises daily in his own estimation as well as in that of others. Good laws, order, industry, in short, all that adorns and endears life are his. So of the African; place him under equal advantages. Take the young man before the mind is stunted by discouragement, or the physical constitution enfeebled by the burdens he is forced to carry. Take him and instruct him; let him anticipate all that acquirements, and industry, and courage can secure for the white man, and you will find him no wise inferior. At this moment the Governor of our Colony in Liberia, (Gov. Roberts,) a person of color, is an ornament to the station; a good belles lettres scholar; a diplomatist not surpassed by many white men of the present age. His late correspondence with the commander of Her Britannic Majesty's ships on the coast of Africa, who claim certain rights there within the limits of our Colony, would do honor even to the distinguished statesman who now fills the responsible chair of the State Department in this country. No one, I am sure, can read that correspondence without feelings of strong and proud satisfaction.

But besides emancipated Africans, our Colony, and these United States, there is, my friends, another class of persons who claim our attention in deciding this great question. Africa—benighted Africa! I refer not now to her advancement in Christianity, but barely to her civilization, to her improvement in agriculture and the arts. We may hope in vain for this improvement until peace is there established. Security to property must precede expenditures of capital or labor. The mind must be made free from the painful apprehension, that the family may be captured while the husband and the father are toiling in the field. While the interior of Africa is convulsed by intestine wars, not for revenge, but from cupidity to obtain human beings upon which to traffic, no amelioration of condition can be expected. Theory itself would teach us this. But, my friends, I have witnessed it all in part in the case of the poor Indian. I have seen the savage exhausted with fatigue, sleeping on his shield, with his bow and arrow in one hand and the war horse fastened to the other by the same lasso with which he was caught, and when I awaked him and asked him to "bore out his ears" to hear my talk, he replied: "The track of the enemy is fresh; look at it; my warriors have fallen; they call upon me for scalps to hang on their graves. I go now to war—when peace is made—when we smoke together, then I will hear you; then I will plant corn." Yes, my friends, peace must be restored, the horrid slave traffic must cease, before Africa can be civilized; and here let me advert for a moment to this great, all absorbing topic.

The slave trade ! mankind condemn it ; it has ever been a horrible system, yea even a crime, and has robbed one continent of much of her population, while at the same time it entailed misery upon all who have become connected with it. I said it *has been* a crime, what is it now ? Is it over ? Oh, no, my friends, would to God that it were ! What, however, is the fact ? From the best data, from evidence laid before a Committee of the British Parliament, and by them published to the world, it appears that not less than 500,000 human beings in Africa fall annually victims to this traffic. Some perish in capture, some in the middle passage, and some drag out existence in captivity. Yes, 1700 daily. I am wrong ; I have not included the Sabbath—there is no day of rest for the slave dealer ; he stops not in his cruel career—he has *no Sabbath*. The laws of God and man he regards as naught.

Every day in the year he numbers his victims ; it is then 1400 daily. This cause alone has probably already swept off from Africa a far larger number of her children than the whole population of every description in these United States. What an amount of wretchedness and woe. Do you doubt it ? What will persuade you ? Call upon the mighty deep to give up her dead ; call upon those for witness, unsepulchred in the middle passage. The trumpet will one day sound and these must appear as dreaded witnesses against those who have murdered them there. Ask them whence they came ; they will tell you, how they were torn from all they loved, how greatly they have suffered, how they were manacled and bruised, how thousands were engulfed in a single hour to lighten the ships so hotly pursued. Hear their separate stories : Oh hear the female captive relate her sad tale of woe and how gladly she embraced the messenger of death which consigned her body to a watery grave, and bore her spirit to a just and merciful, but till then, an unknown God. Yes ! the grave for once is satisfied—it has enough : hear the deep itself exclaim in the hoarse echo of its loud roar, Cruel monster ! stay thy hand, crowd me not further ; I am already full. Pardon my feelings on this subject. Can man be indifferent to the accumulated woes of a whole continent ? Make the case your own. Suppose a ship from Africa was to heave in sight in the Potomac ; notice was given for a cargo of slaves, and a high price offered ; your relatives, your wives and your children, carried into captivity. Oh, then your lamentations and woe ! nor could you cease to weep, thinking of the loved ones torn from you—gone forever. What is the difference in the two cases ? simply that in this case, it is the African ship that has made reprisals to supply the ravages which the ships under your flag are daily making. Yes my friends, ships protected by your flag. Oh that foul blot which stains our national banner ! Tell me not here of dignity and national honor ! Did the track of the enemy lead to your dwellings, had you already lost a part of your children by plunder and robbery, would you, suffer to pass one that was suspected and who was apparently making another approach for the remainder ? would you not enquire his name and business, or would you let him pass lest you might injure his feelings, by showing suspicion ; especially if he bore any peculiar insignia or carried a certain flag ? No you would examine him, perhaps find him loaded with manacles for your family. I love my country's honor ; I would not submit to search and imprisonment of her seamen, but I would most cheerfully grant on the suspected coast a reciprocal examination : this boasted land of freedom has applied again and again to foreign nations to aid in suppressing the slave trade. We have been the

first to call it *Piracy*, and punish it with death. And now when the nations of Europe respond Amen, let it cease; when they do all that we have asked or desired, shall we hold back? If we do so, let those who suffer the consequences claim not from an injured world the sympathy and forgiveness they may yet need. Let us rather as a nation follow the example of this Society,—line the coast of Africa with colonies; these will be perpetual barriers against the slave dealer. It is as easy to transport thousands to freedom as it is to hurry off yearly 500,000 to death and captivity. A few years only would accomplish the whole work, were the heart of the people given to it. How much better such a preventive, such a remedy, than ships of war whose presence is transient and which still afford opportunity to elude their vigilance.

And what would be the moral change on the coast? Good markets for commerce for the interior; no longer would cupidity and avarice bring the price of blood to purchase the comforts of life. Human hearts would still be given; but only in exchange for the blessings of that holy religion which is offered without money and without price—purchase above all value—temporal and eternal joys.

I have perhaps my friends detained you too long. Our meeting will soon be closed. You will pursue your wonted vocations and your Committee will return again to their duty. The question now is, Shall they have your advice and assistance? will you share in their burdens? Do you say the times are hard? Is money scarce? Think my friends that the expense of a single public dinner or dance in compliment only to but one of your fellow men has cost more than would relieve our present emergency. Yes the collection for admission at the race ground this past week, for the privilege of seeing what man with whip and spur can make a poor animal do, would carry the needy Africans now at Norfolk, to their fatherland. The amount paid a foreign dancer for an exhibition of herself among us, would furnish ample means to cheer the hearts of our desponding Colony—and shall the Committee cease to urge their plea? But I must close.

Yet before I set down, let me ask, my Christian friends, why it is, that the white man dies so soon in Africa? why too does the emancipated African die so soon at the north? why does he find no resting place here? Is not the finger of God visible in this? Africa must be regenerated. The colored man is fitted for that climate; God has made it his peculiar land; it is his home. And now should the bondman find his body freed, his sins forgiven, his mind enlightened, he will return to idolatrous Africa, with the injunction of his Divine Master; and may we not hope that a happy day is soon to dawn on that long abused, benighted people. You and I cannot go to teach them, our lives would soon be sacrificed, but we can send him and shall he not go? My friends I come not a beggar for your charity; you know your duty—consult your own consciences. Take the subject, fellow Christians, to your closets and there inquire of God who seeth our hearts what you ought to do. Our talents are borrowed; we are only stewards, and shall soon be called to our final account. We are debtors and no credit can be entered for us beyond the grave. If we look on our estates, we cannot regard them in fee simple to us and our heirs forever. God has written on our titles, a stewardship only—a tenantry at will. Riches take to themselves wings and fly away. What was called ours yesterday is another's to-day—to-morrow it may be still another's. Happy for us that "we need but little here, nor need that little long." I

said I came not before you a beggar ; I will however implore for our poor colony—for wretched Africa, for her sons and daughters wherever they may be, for our poor Society, and for your humble Committee whose hearts are wrung from day to day by the urgency of the miserable and wretched, I will and do implore what you can so easily bestow, and what I know you will not withhold—your prayers.